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# NATIONAL REVIEW

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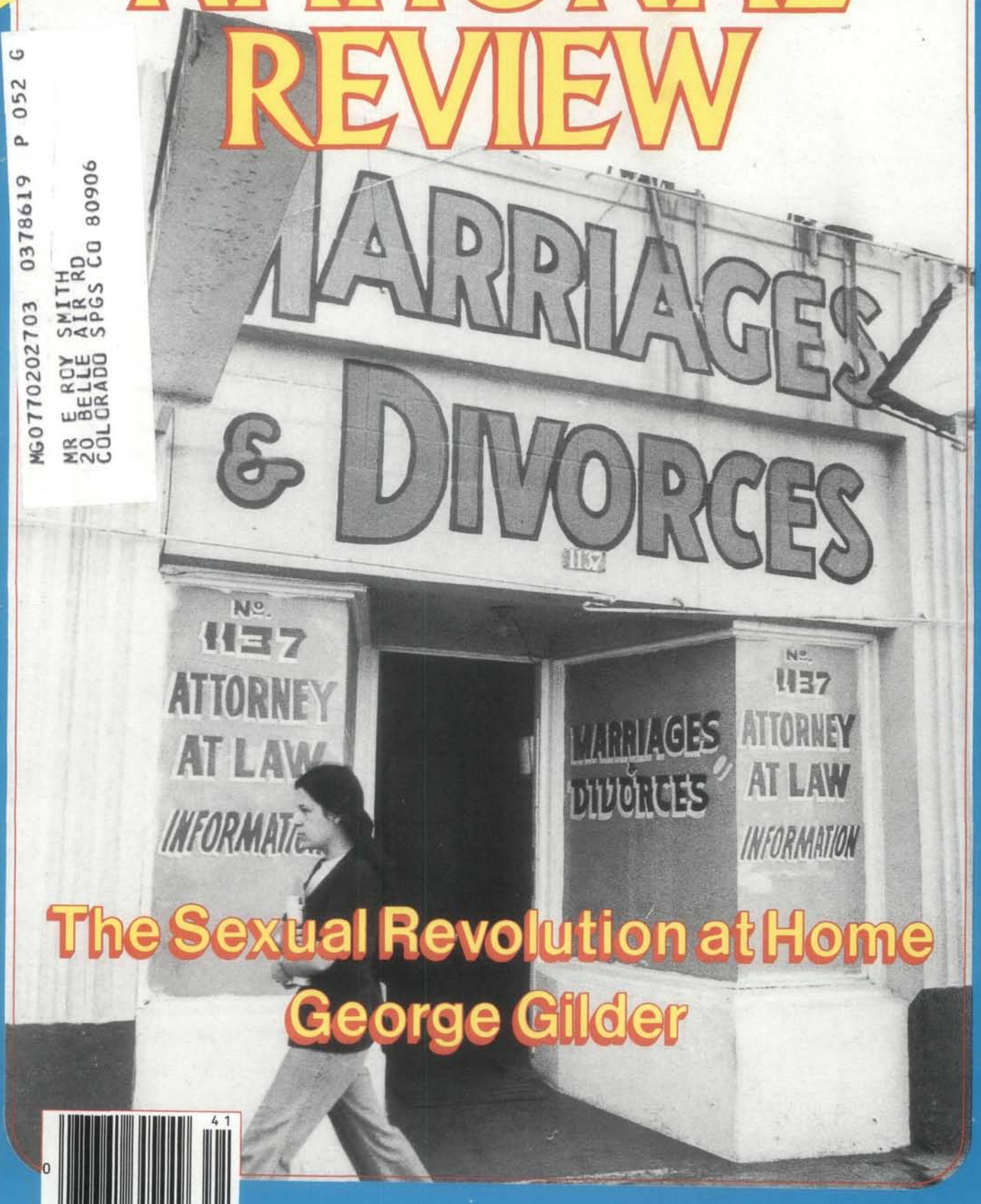


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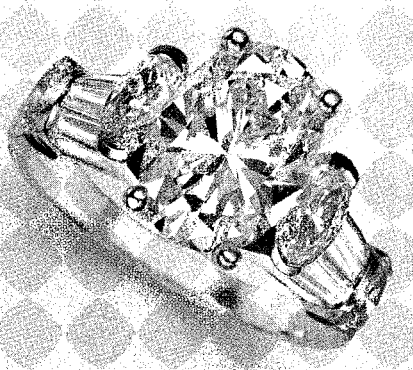

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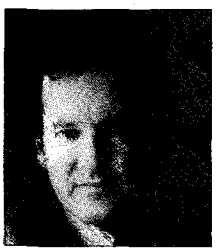
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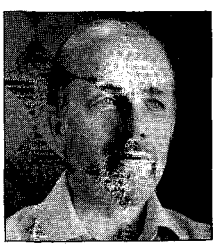
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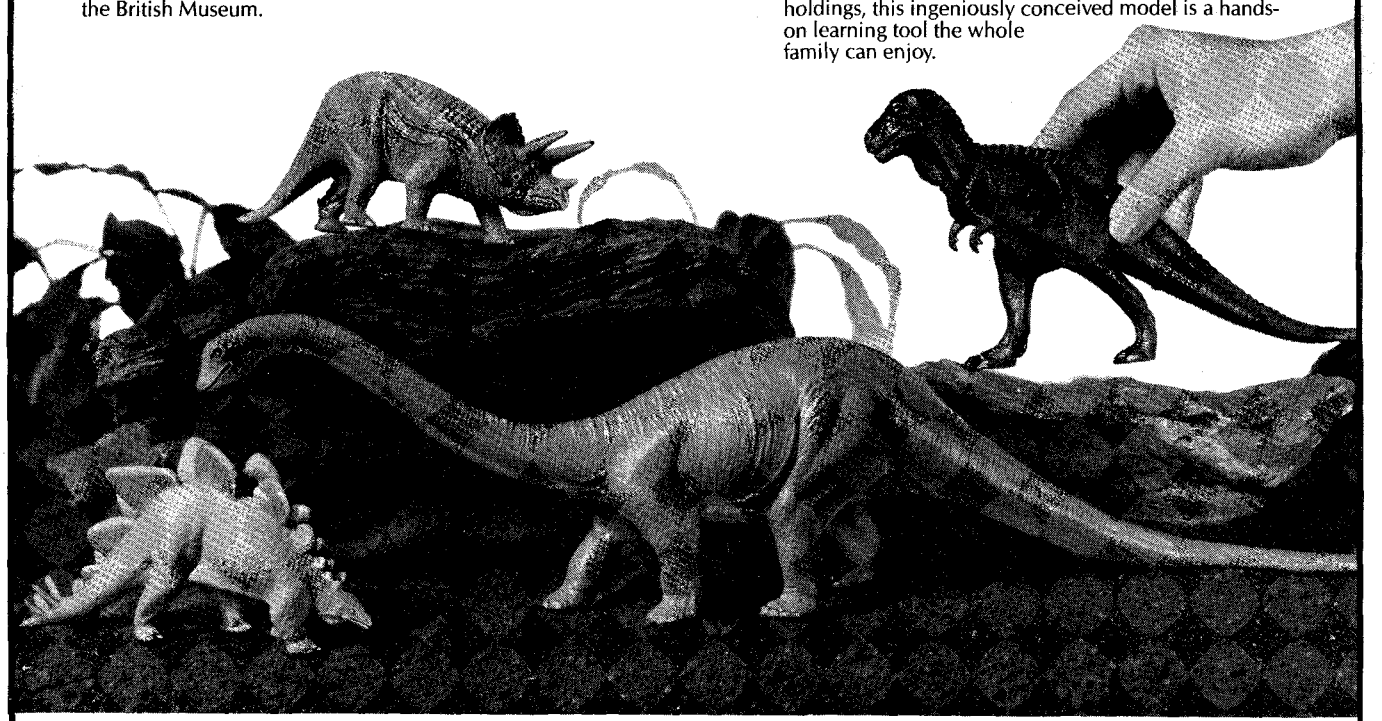

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# LETTERS

## Campus Crybabies

For conservatives who have been away from the campus for several years, Margaret Anne Gallagher's "A Tyranny of Pity" [Sept. 26] should be a real eye-opener. Conservatives may have won, but no one's told the dean. Having recently spent four years at the University of Pennsylvania, I can personally testify that minority groups, encouraged and financed by the administration, have but one purpose: to educate their members to be victims. For example, the United Minorities Council demonstrates often for increasing the number of minority students at the university. At the same time, when prospective minority students are invited to campus in April, they are constantly told that the university is a miserable place for a minority student to go to school.

*Hank Irving*
*Philadelphia, Pa.*

## Gay Wrongs

"Letter from a Friend: A Conservative Speaks Out for Gay Rights" [Sept. 12] is a cranky, snarling indictment of popular conservatism's reaction to the gay-rights issue; it is, nonetheless, articulate and clever. "John Woolman" employs cunning analogies and even turns a neat logical formulation or two in his attempt to unmask alleged right-wing hypocrisy. However, one of the fundamental problems of his argument is that it seems to address a bit too casually the traditional Judaeo-Christian viewpoint. Admittedly, Mr. Woolman does allude to this perspective, but he then brushes it aside with virtual nonchalance.

Despite Mr. Woolman's sweeping, presumptuous declaration that "sexual orientation is generally not a matter of choice" (some proof, please?), many of us out here feel homosexuality is exactly that. I don't believe that homosexuality is God-given or even a biological mishap. On the contrary, I am quite confident that nature, common sense, and Biblical teaching refute any notion that, for some, the "gay" life was "meant to be." This, coupled with a stirring conviction that such a choice is morally aberrant, makes it impossible for me to align myself ideologically with conservatives like John Woolman.

*Rev. Stephan Pauwels*
*Derry, N.H.*

Thank you for printing John Woolman's thoughtful letter. I too have been puzzled that an ideology that advocates maximum truth and maximum personal freedom should go to such lengths to persecute a minority. Most homosexuals are not militant and would just like to be left alone.

On the other hand, I disagree with Mr. Woolman's view that sexual orientation is not a matter of choice. Ultimately the type of sexual activity in which a citizen engages is exactly his own choice, just like the initial decision to be chaste or promiscuous.

In short, civilized society sometimes requires that a man's predispositions be overcome. An abnormal instinct does not necessarily require special accommodations by that society.

*Gary Dameron*
*Grand Forks, N.D.*

I was encouraged by John Woolman's reference to the Good Lord in his opening sentence, but after reading the article it appears this was mere name dropping. Anyone familiar with the Bible knows that Adam and Eve were instructed to "be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth." Mr. Woolman must not accept this, because neither men nor women can reproduce without the other. Woolman says in so many words that Falwell and Robertson are responsible for homosexual militancy. However, Sodom and Gomorrah predate Moral Majority.

Mr. Woolman is also disingenuous when he implies that conservative evangelicals are obsessed with homosexual behavior while overlooking heterosexual immorality. To the evangelical Christian, homosexuality is by definition immoral; heterosexuality within marriage is not, but rest assured, Mr. Woolman, that we have not overlooked fornication and adultery. Just as the number-one moral problem in America, abortion, is one result of heterosexual immorality, so AIDS is one consequence of homosexual behavior.

*Robert S. Scheirer*
*Suncook, N.H.*

## Children of Light

I am seriously considering going out and buying a hat, just so I'll have something to tip to Richard Brookhiser for his wise and knowing piece on the Pat Robertson



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candidacy ["Pat Robertson Seeks Lower Office," Aug. 29].

Brookhiser is perhaps the only commentator I've read so far who seems to understand that Robertson is neither a fool nor a spoiler (if he were the latter he'd start a third party); what he wants, as Brookhiser observes, is to get onto the Republican agenda some items that might otherwise be slighted.

There seems to have come a time when those who believe, and are publicly abused for the fact, would do well to get their heads together, and I am delighted to see Brookhiser recognize this. In Dr. Johnson's terms, Robertson has found us an argument, but Brookhiser has found us an understanding.

*George Warren*
*Pacific Grove, Calif.*

### Some Tax Revolt

You proclaim "The Tax Revolt Lives" ["The Week," Sept. 12] and cite as evidence only the drop in personal income-tax rates. In terms of all government spending as a percentage of the gross national product—Milton Friedman's definition of taxation—the tax revolt has been a dud. In fact, things are getting worse, not better. Here's why: In 1985 the percentage of GNP devoted to government spending is estimated to be 37.63. In 1980, this figure was 36.43; in 1975, it was 36.15; and way back in 1970, it was 33.24.

Supply-side fiscal policies may be potent medicine, but can the patient survive much more of it?

*Stephen Hogan*
*Nashville, Tenn.*

### Raising Kean

Readers should be aware of several flaws in Cato's "Letter from Washington" [Sept. 12] regarding Republican Governor Tom Kean's political ambitions.

Cato claimed that "Kean is pushing to get a lieutenant governorship created" in New Jersey because, should he decide to run against Democratic Senator Frank Lautenberg in 1988, "it would be the Democratically controlled State Assembly that would choose his successor," since the governor's term does not expire until 1989.

First, all the legislation being considered to establish a lieutenant governor's office in New Jersey would create the position following the general election in 1989. Kean's support for the idea, therefore, has nothing to do with who will be his successor.

Second, it is the State Senate (currently under Democratic control) that would choose Kean's successor, should he de-


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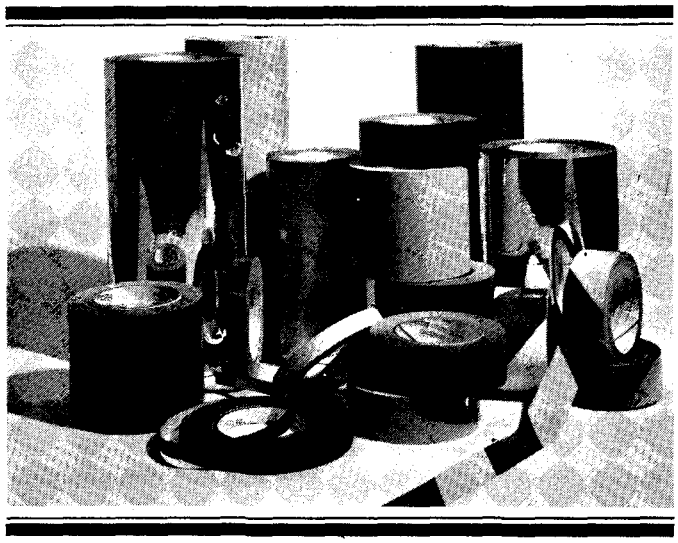

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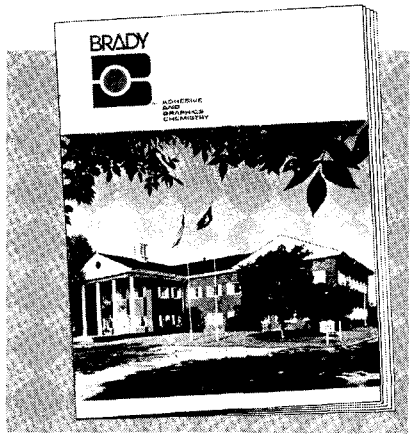


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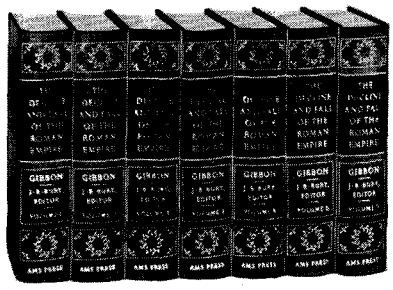

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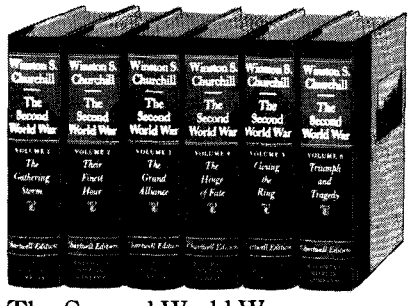

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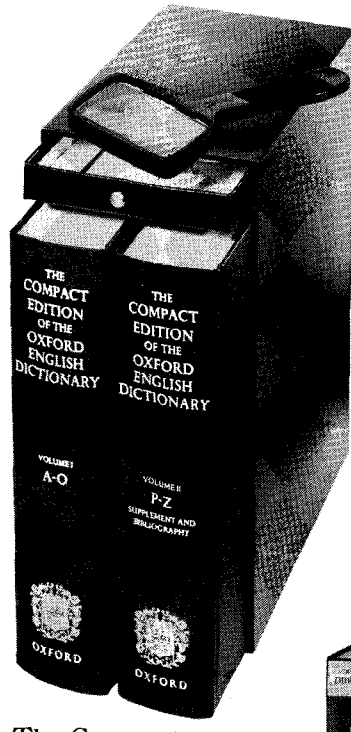
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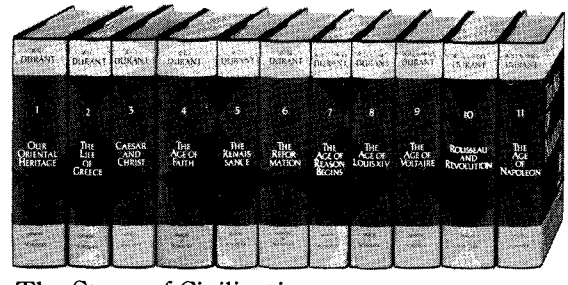
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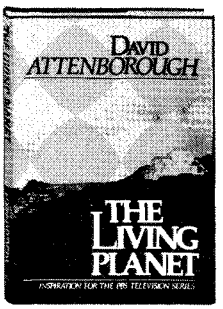


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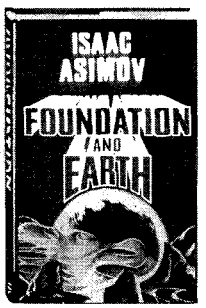


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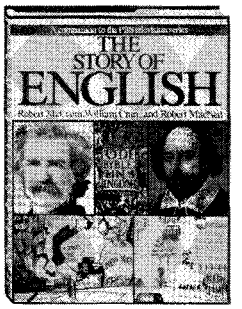


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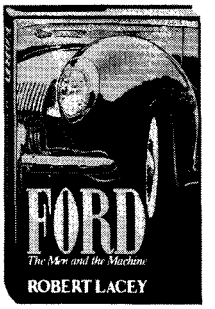


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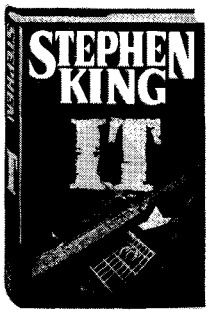


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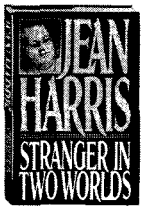


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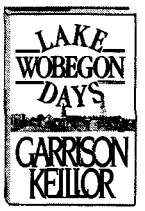


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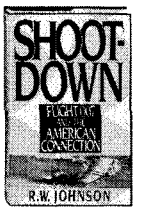


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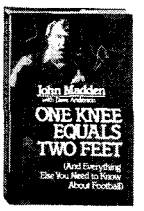


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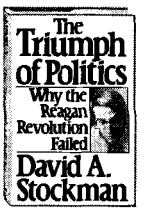


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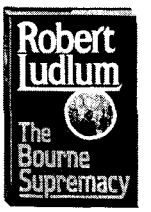


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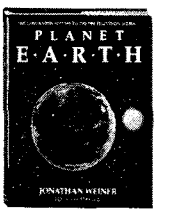


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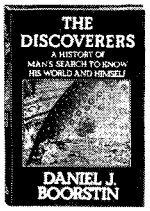


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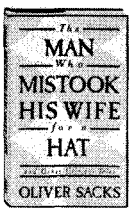


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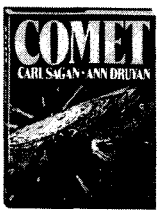


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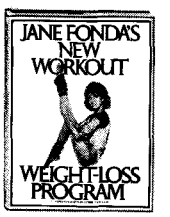


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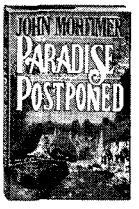


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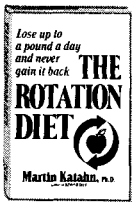


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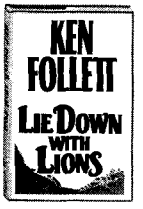


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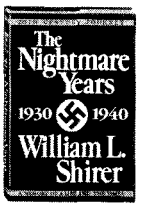


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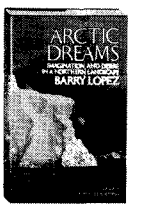


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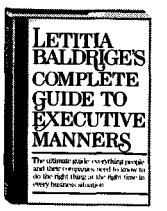


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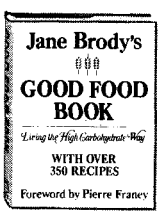


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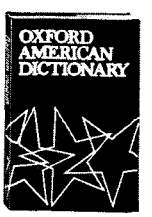


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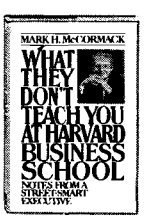


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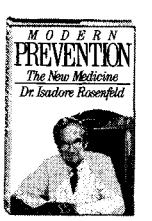


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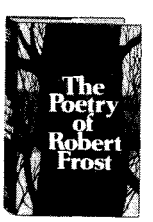


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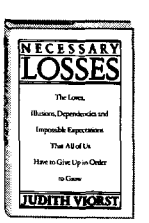


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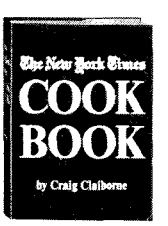


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cide to run for the U.S. Senate in 1988. (The New Jersey Assembly is under Republican control.)

One factor that could influence Governor Kean's next move is the outcome of the 1987 elections, when all forty State Senate seats will be on the line. A switch from the current 22-to-17-seat Democratic edge (there is one vacancy), to Republican control, which would ensure a Republican successor should Governor Kean run against Senator Lautenberg, would surely make that option much more tempting.

*Patrick J. Witmer*
*Director of Legislative Affairs*
*New Jersey Chamber of Commerce*
*Trenton, N.J.*

### Double Standards

It is odd to read a piece in NATIONAL REVIEW extolling those who advocate socialism, appeasement, and fervent opposition to a so-called Religious Right. Yet that is precisely the substance of Kathleen Christison's review essay, "The Other Israel" [Sept. 12], which praises the works of Meron Benvenisti and Lesley Hazleton, while it belittles a book by Ze'ev Chafets, who is usually middle-of-the-road.

Miss Christison correctly observes that the critique of Israel made by those she agrees with has been rejected by the Israeli people, but she hopes that it will be accepted in America. However, she does not understand that it has been rejected in Israel for the very same reason that analogous ideas on American policy put forth by the liberal likes of George McGovern, Noam Chomsky, and Gloria Steinem have not been widely accepted here: They are wrong and people know it.

One must wonder why the reviewer is attracted by Benvenisti's pleas for Israeli acquiescence to the incessant demands of implacable Arab foes. American supporters of "détente" with the Soviets would feel comfortable with this approach. I agree with Senators Jesse Helms and Steve Symms who believe that Israeli policies should be guided by the same sane principles that ought to govern the United States.

*Stephen Karetzky*
*Astoria, N.Y.*

### Cajun Stew

Thank you and Ben C. Toledano for sharing with the rest of the nation most of the sources of Louisiana's troubles ["Laissez les Bon Temps Rouler," Aug. 15]. I have heard many of the phrases used in the article to describe the attitude of the majority of Louisianians on both sides of the current circumstances. I could not find a single point in the article with which I did not agree. However, I did want you and the rest of America to know that there are intelligent, responsible citizens with the guts to stay in Louisiana, frustrated though we may be, who care about the plight of our state. It is just a *damn* shame that those responsible for maintaining the status quo here in Louisiana are, by and large, too ignorant to read Toledano's article for guidance.

*Craig M. Hays*
*New Orleans, La.*

I don't want to quibble, and I know you had to take some license for comic or ironic effect—but shouldn't that title actually be "*Laissez rouler les bon temps*"?

*Larry Eubank*
*Jeffersonville, Ind.*

*In Paris, yes; but in New Orleans they speak her their own way.* —LB

### African Cantons?

My thanks to Brian Crozier for his fine analysis in "South Africa: A Way Out" [Aug. 1]. In the divided tribal societies of Africa some sort of federal system would have been the only workable way of reconciling conflicts created by ancient enmities; instead, power has gone to the majority tribe. Africa has suffered terribly from tribal conflicts aided and abetted by Marxist ideology and modern arms. Not only is a federal system the only real hope for lasting stability in South Africa, it is perhaps the best hope still for other African nations.

It is one of the tragedies of modern history that when the Western powers began the process of decolonization they turned away from the traditional authorities in the tribes to a Westernized, politicized leadership that steered the colonies toward unitary states. Tribal leadership might have recognized the impossibility of reconciling tribal interests with the doctrine of "one man, one vote," and insisted on some kind of tribal "separation of powers."

*Edgar C. Sherman*
*Heerde, the Netherlands*

### Hung Jerry

Ain't nothing so sad as pointy-heads trying to talk like just folks and getting they tongues all tied in knots. Take "jerry-rigged," frinstance ["The Week," Aug. 15]. Now any old sailor boy knows it's "jury-rigged," and any old federal contractor knows it's "jerry-built." It just goes to show, don't they?

*Wm. F. Rickenbacker*
*Francestown, N.H.*



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# FOR THE RECORD

Major concern among hard-liners on Hill is what would happen to President **Reagan**'s defense initiatives if Democrats organize the 100th Congress. **Jerry Hertz**, legislative director for SANE-PAC, indicates what they would face if Democrats win the Senate: "We went through a series of votes in the House just two or three weeks ago which basically had a clean sweep for disarmament. [A Republican Senate defeat in November] would completely change the way things have been going here for peace and arms control." . . . Political analyst **Horace Busby**, who worked in **LBJ** White House, feels things are going better for Republicans now than they were in June when Democrats led in six key states. Now three states with retiring Democratic senators (Louisiana, **Russell Long**; Missouri, **Thomas Eggleton**; Colorado, **Gary Hart**) are tilting GOP. And in a fourth, North Carolina, latest *Charlotte Observer* poll shows GOP Sen. **James Broyhill** five points ahead of **Terry Sanford**; he trailed Sanford by six points in June. . . . Experts pretty much write off Sen. **Paula Hawkins**'s re-election chances, although one longtime Florida Republican leader comments: "Paula's like a teabag. You have to put her in hot water to see how strong she is." . . . Little hope is given for **Linda Chavez** *v.* superliberal **Barbara Mikulski** in Maryland. Although here too AEI's **William Schneider** sees some reason for hope. "Linda Chavez can't win the race," he says, "but [the hot tempered] Barbara Mikulski could lose it. . . . The news from the West is generally grim for the GOP: In Nevada, Democrat **Harry Reid** leads **Jim Santini** by five points (**Laxalt**'s seat); in South Dakota Rep. **Tom Daschle** beats incumbent Sen. **Jim Abdnor** by 15 points, **Ed Zschau** has yet to catch fire in California. . . . In other races, as expected, **Joseph Kennedy** scored big victory in crowded 8th CD primary in Massachusetts and has better chance of going to Congress in November than his sister **Kathleen Townsend** who's running in Maryland. . . . Informed that **Bella Abzug** had won a congressional primary upstate, Mayor **Koch** was heard to murmur: "Madness in Westchester."

Shailo, *London Daily Telegraph* / Rothco

*"They don't want her wearing the trousers."*

**Mikhail Gorbachev**'s blandishments haven't, it seems, fooled the public at large on Soviet intentions. A **Penn-Schoen** Associates poll for the Committee on the Present Danger shows that: 81 per cent of Americans favor SDI research; 78 per cent favor using the system if research pans out; 75 per cent oppose cuts in the defense budget; 80 per cent believe the Soviet Union is involved in promoting world terrorism. . . . *Washington Post* columnist **Lou Cannon** (often a bitter Administration critic) comments on current U.S.-Soviet relations that "Gorbachev's calls for nuclear-arms reductions and the Soviet nuclear-test moratorium have impressed a surprising number of people who ought to know better." . . . Not, be it said, such clear thinkers as **Jeane Kirkpatrick**, Assist. Defense Secretary **Richard Perle**, and former NSC Advisor **Robert McFarlane** who refused to attend "town meeting" at Riga, Lithuania, even after **Nicholas Daniloff**'s release from a KGB cell.

Of interest to conservatives: Prestigious **Ingersoll** awards this year go to novelist **V. S. Naipaul** and author **Andrew Lytle**. . . . AEI's *Regulation* magazine back in business under sponsorship of Regulation Foundation, editor **Christopher C. DeMuth** (1667 K St., N.W., Suite 757, Washington, D.C. 20006). . . . Foundation for Resistance International (500 5th Ave., Suite 1600, New York, N.Y. 10110) has available "Tribunal on Cuba," a brochure containing testimony of victims of Cuban prison camps including that of **Armando Valladares**. . . . **Steve Mosher**, the Stanford U. scholar who was refused a PhD because of his controversial report on birth-control practices in China, has been appointed director of newly founded Asian Studies Center at Claremont Institute. . . . First project of newly founded Committee to Protect the Family (5881 Leesburg Pike, Suite 204, Falls Church, Va. 22041) is constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the U.S. . . . The Free Angola Information Service (P.O. Box 65463, Washington, D.C. 20035) is now publishing a bimonthly newsletter on the UNITA struggle, *Kwacha News*. . . . At Columbia University, an Ad-Hoc Committee against the Jeane Kirkpatrick Award has been formed to fight "award for excellence" to Mrs. Kirkpatrick by Graduate Faculties Alumni Association, a private Columbia alumni organization. Ad Hoc Committee member **Eric Hirsch** says his group does not "approve of what [Mrs. Kirkpatrick's] career has been distinguished by." . . . The Christian Emergency Relief team, headed by **David Courson**, a former Marine sergeant in Vietnam, is doing great job helping Miskito Indians and other Nicaraguan refugees. (Address: P.O. Box 516, Carlsbad, Calif. 92008).

In Kuala Lumpur, authorities have banned rock concerts. Explains Prime Minister **Mahathir Mohamad**: "People can still listen to rock music in their homes. But when you have a public performance, some youngsters misbehave themselves. They jump about looking very un-Malaysian."



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# THE WEEK

☐ "A Soviet Missile Is Said to Misfire and Hit China." (*New York Times*, September 16, page 1). U.S. sources indicated the missile was 1,500 miles off course. On second thought, why not let *them* bomb Qaddafi?

☐ Dan Rostenkowski wants tax rates to increase. He is fed up with the deficit, and the only way out is "higher, progressive" rates. Even so. We have good reason to fear that a reduction in the rates coupled with "loophole-closing" could lead to higher rates in the future. This is precisely what Rosty has in mind.

☐ Recent polls appearing in *Public Opinion*—remember, pre-Daniloff—contain some interesting data about American opinion. Two-thirds of Americans think that the USSR will cheat on any agreements arrived at when and if the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit takes place. Sixty-one per cent agree with Reagan's handling of foreign policy, 75 per cent with his handling of U.S.-Soviet relations. Fifty-three per cent agree with Reagan's description of the USSR as an "evil empire." The better-Red-than-dead position is not popular off-campus. Sixty-one per cent are willing to risk the destruction of the United States rather than submit to rule by the Soviets. Twenty-three per cent think the Soviet Union is bent on world domination and will risk a major war to achieve it; 34 per cent think that it seeks such domination short of a major war. A solid majority thus agrees in its assessment of Soviet goals. Solid majorities believe that Nicaragua will give bases to the Soviets. Reagan's continuing popularity is not due to his nice personality.

☐ As more and more states ponder proposals to make English their official language, the *New York Times* reports that civil-rights and other ethnic groups oppose such measures and charge that they are motivated by racism and xenophobia. These may be components, but so what? Hostility and insensitivity have certainly been evident in the other direction too. The question is whether the establishment of English is part of a legitimate cultural self-defense, and the answer is yes. English-speaking Americans should give more attention to foreign languages, to be sure, but there should be no doubt as to which is native and which are foreign. Hospitality doesn't mean signing over the deed to the guest. It is worth noting that in the days when immigrants were expected to work for a living, they had no trouble learning English. The availability of social services—especially easy welfare—has made possible the growth of stubborn enclaves of foreigners who expect to be catered to in their own tongues.

☐ A law suit in Tennessee has attracted much attention. A group of Christian parents sued a local school board and textbook publishers on grounds that public-school teaching violates their religious beliefs. Given the location and reference to creation/evolution, the trial was inevitably dubbed Scopes II. But it went much further: into such niceties of public education as witchcraft, feminist philosophy and gender role reversal, and the imposition of a humanist view and its values on schoolchildren. As with Scopes, public-interest groups have taken sides, notably, and not surprisingly, People for the American Way, which is financing the defense. "This is a particularly important case," says a PAW spokesman, "because, if they win, it could gradually disintegrate public education in this country." (Translation: We can't indoctrinate your children any more.) "If every group made the request they're making, and everybody's beliefs had to be accommodated by separate texts, there would be no common ground for school." (Translation: Christians are weirdos, and if we let them practice their religious beliefs, we can't indoctrinate anybody to the contrary.) A decision in the case is expected next month. We'll be watching.

## Daniloff/Zakharov

People party to the ploy
  Fail to find it odd
That both prisoners appear
  Like peas in a pod.
If we catch another spy
  And they follow suit,
Moscow will begin to look
  Like downtown Beirut.

W. H. VON DREELE



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# Medical Research—building a healthier future

If you've ever been treated for high blood pressure... heart disease...diabetes...or almost any health problem, medical progress based on research has already touched your life.

Because of medical research, polio no longer strikes in epidemic proportions every summer. Today about three-quarters of patients diagnosed as having Hodgkin's disease will survive five years or longer—as opposed to less than half twenty years ago. Current treatment options for people with heart disease and high blood pressure include medication that helps the body's natural regulators to control blood pressure and volume, enabling the heart to function with less strain.

Scientists are now working on new ways of treating such devastating afflictions as heart disease, cancer and Alzheimer's disease. They are testing new enzyme inhibitors that may control or reverse the late complications of diabetes. Forthcoming breakthroughs in understanding biological processes and treating disease may change the quality and perhaps the length of your life.

Medical research leading to such results takes years of patient, often frustrating experimentation by many different teams throughout the public and private sectors of our scientific community. The tasks involved are not simple.

Advances in research stem from a partnership that includes federal agencies such as the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA), universities and teaching hospitals across America, and private industry laboratories. Each partner often works independently to acquire knowledge and test new concepts. They must build on the knowledge developed in all laboratories, and they often coordinate efforts in their search for answers.

Whether an idea originates in a university laboratory or starts with basic product research carried on in the private sector, important findings percolate through the entire scientific community, where each new finding serves as a building block to establish a deeper understanding of what we are and how we function.

Medical research is an expensive process. It needs steady funding for equipment and personnel—even when progress is slow. Government and industry often work with university-based scientists and the medical profession not only in the acquisition of new knowledge and the development of new treatments, but also in funding these advances.

Now more than ever, we all must do our part to help keep the flow of discoveries active and ongoing. If funding for medical research is reduced, major advances in knowledge about some of the most dreaded diseases facing us today could be delayed for years to come.

What can you do?

- *Speak up.* Let your legislators know that you want funding of biomedical research by NIH and other government agencies to be kept at the highest possible levels.
- *Contribute* to voluntary health organizations supporting disease research.

Research-based pharmaceutical companies such as Pfizer are also increasing their financial investment in research. For instance, in 1984 alone, pharmaceutical companies in the United States spent over 4 *billion* dollars on research and product development.

At the same time, we at Pfizer realize the importance of committing more than money to research. As a partner in healthcare, we are continually working to discover new ideas, test new concepts, and turn new understanding to practical and beneficial uses. Now we are working harder than ever to make sure that this nation's medical research effort receives the attention—and funding—it deserves.

*For more information on the future of medical research in America, write to Health Research U.S.A., P.O. Box 3852 FR, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163.*

PHARMACEUTICALS • A PARTNER IN HEALTHCARE

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## Take Notice

Grab some ear plugs, then turn tail:
Bella's on the comeback trail,
Making seismic markers twitch
As the public hits the ditch.
I'd kick in a Cuisinart
If the girl would only start
Thinking thoughts of hearth and home,
Preferably, up in Nome.

W. H. VON DREELE

☐ Fidel Castro's Gulag gave up another seventy prisoners last week—many who had served in Castro's jails almost as long as Castro has ruled the island: men of all ages, from all walks of life, many imprisoned for twenty, 25 years for unnamed crimes, united in only one thing: that they were perceived by Castro to be anti-Castro. Only 69 of the seventy reached haven, family, friends, liberty in the United States: Juan Gomez Blanco did not make it, dying of a heart attack in Havana two days after his release. They bring with them terrible tales of beatings, torture, sadism, hunger, isolation, filth, the underside of Castro's hellish regime that remained unacknowledged for so long by Western intellectuals seeking the untarnished Socialist revolution of their dreams. For a time they thought they had found it in Castro's Cuba. No longer.

☐ During Daniel Ortega's September 1985 visit to the United States, the Nicaraguan spent $3,500 on fashion eyeglass frames. Somehow the shopping spree didn't gibe with the proper image of Central America's leading revolutionary; the White House began referring to him as "the dictator in designer glasses." When he scheduled his recent trip to the U.S., Ortega cleaned up his act. In fact, he took a page from Jonas Savimbi's book. Hiring a PR firm called Agendas International, Ortega left his army fatigues in a Managua airport locker and donned a tailored summer suit. He posed in front of the Statue of Liberty. At every public appearance he kissed babies and charmed the press. Fortunately, his techniques didn't fool all the people, all the time. According to the *New York Tribune*, Ortega was walking past Harry's American Bar in the Palace Hotel when he was spotted by the pianist, who struck up "God Bless America."

☐ The House has passed a sanctions bill aimed at South Africa, and it occurs to us that the South African issue can be viewed as a hysterical symptom in American politics. In the old repressed days people did think proscribed thoughts, usually sexual, and sometimes developed hysterical symptoms—tics, compulsions, paralyses, fainting spells, etc. South Africa seems to have become the political equivalent of such symptoms, a substitute for unthinkable thoughts about the menace of the Soviet Union. Quick, get Freud on the phone, the House needs help.

☐ A weapons shipment suspected to be for the IRA was found in Dublin in crates marked "Libyan Armed Forces."

☐ The most stubborn, tenacious, and hard-nosed negotiators in the world are the Israelis. Of all the countries willing to sit down with them, none has a greater need than Egypt to demonstrate its determination to stand firm and defend its rights. Israel fears that compromise in negotiations will lead to compromise of national security; Egypt fears that compromise at the table could lead to yet greater isolation from the rest of the Arab world. This is why it took Egypt and Israel so long to reach a preliminary settlement on the Taba issue. This is also why it is so remarkable that any settlement at all was reached, paving the way for a summit meeting between Israeli Prime Minister Peres and Egyptian President Mubarak. The fact that Egypt and Israel are still meeting at the highest level after eight years of peace—the murder of Sadat and Israeli invasion of Lebanon notwithstanding—offers some small hope for a civilized power equation in the Middle East.

☐ Muammar el-Qaddafi made a reasonable point at the recent conference of non-aligned nations. He said to his Third World comrades, Get serious: Cut out the pretensions to independence and let's make war on the U.S. Now this is what many of these countries have been up to anyway, and it's about time someone said so.

☐ Terrorism, *NR* Branch. Find Abu Nidal. Or someone like him. Tie one of his ankles to a tank. Tie his other ankle to another tank. Drive the tanks in opposite directions. Indicate seriousness. Stop kidding around with innocent lives.

☐ Wyman is out, Tisch and Paley are in, Sauter is axed—and all America watches CBS, as groundlings mind the fell and incensèd points of mighty opposites. Isn't there something a little narcissistic in it all—especially since the shifts at the top will bring no changes, beyond the cosmetic, in the product? One faction of directors decided the corporation wasn't making enough money, and proposes to make more. And that is the sum of it. Dan will be coming your way as usual. We can only thank our lucky stars, considering what a skunk he has become, that the network didn't fall to Ted Turner.

☐ Terry Dolan and Brent Bozell III recently began



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# LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

DEMOCRATIC SENATOR Bill Bradley of New Jersey has made some liberal tempers flare by his vote on Contra aid. Saying yes to $100 million for the democratic resistance in Nicaragua shocked Bradley's left-leaning supporters. The vote sent *The Village Voice* reaching for the poisoned pen, noting in a reproduced piece circulating on the Hill, "Bradley's vote will lead to more bloodshed, more babies blown up, more mutilations, more rapes and depravity. He had the opportunity to take a strong moral stand. Instead, he helped give Reagan a piece of every teenager's hide, for it is they who will be losing their lives in the next war."

Sharp-eyed Washington analysts see the vote differently, however. "Bradley's move to the center is a plus," says a Hill handicapper. "It shows he's not a liberal automaton." As for angering his leftist supporters, "Sure, he teed off the Sixties-chic pop liberals, but he's sensible enough to make independent decisions."

Others here see another reason for Bradley's vote: a 1992 (not '88) presidential bid. "Bill's just not ready for '88," says a Bradley staffer, "not psyched up enough to spend weeks away from home eating cold cheeseburgers and staying in drab motel rooms." Bradley has a nine-year-old daughter who, he thinks, is too young for the assorted vexations and rigors of a national campaign.

Positioning is another factor favoring a run in six years rather than in two, meaning that Bradley is said to be eyeing the Senate Majority Leader post as a presidential springboard, assuming a four-seat net gain in November for a Democratic takeover. Under this hypothesis, current Minority Leader Robert Byrd (W.Va.) will not seek to be Majority Leader in '87 (because he will be retiring after his term is up in '88) thus clearing the way for Bradley. "Tax reform has earned Bill the leadership," says the handicapper. From the beginning Bradley has stayed in the limelight by working hard. That key, but understated, role has endeared him to the Democratic establishment in Congress. "All his actions are going to be remembered by the party stalwarts."

In addition, Democratic activists agree that the Old Guard must step down. A new cast of characters like Bradley, Biden, and Gephardt should replace Byrd, O'Neill, and Kennedy as key players. "The young team has to go in to challenge the Republicans and get Americans back into the Democratic ranks again," says a Democratic Hill staffer. "Bradley has it all—and the Contra-aid vote keeps him in step with the country and different from too-liberal Democrats like Dodd whom the centrists don't trust."

If all goes as planned, and Bradley is running the Senate after the 1986 elections, that increased visibility and power will enhance his presidential chances in 1992.

Conservative tempers are also flaring—not over Bradley, but over the U.S.-subsidized grain deal with the Soviets, especially in the wake of the Daniloff arrest. Their focus: Bob Dole. As Senate Majority Leader and a politician from a farm state, Dole pushed hard to get the sale through, aiming, of course, to please wheat farmers and thus make political hay for the Midwest GOP senators. When the Soviets dismissed the first grain offer as insufficient, Dole offered them more. Farm Senator Richard Lugar, a senior member of the Agriculture Committee, deplored the original deal and thought the second one so demeaning to the U.S. as to be "embarrassing." Deal-making Dole, by helping the USSR, was in the wrong place at the wrong time begging the wrong thing, viz., that the Soviets buy our grain at cut-rate prices subsidized by U.S. taxes, while they were holding Daniloff in a KGB jail.

Dole's presidential ambitions have been bruised, if not wounded. The Republican Right remains wary of Dole's conservatism, which it continues to view as wobbly despite his firmly Right voting record and further recent shifts rightward.

Heard around town: Ken Khachigian scripted the moving twenty-minute drug addresses to the nation made by the First Couple, showing that the veteran Reagan speechwriter is most trusted among all aides by both Nancy and Ron for high-profile, important events . . . Democratic presidential contender Gary Hart may have to watch out for desertions from his pool of possible senior campaign aides, since some are thinking of joining the flashier Senator Joe Biden (Del.), who, they say, "can be electrifying where Gary is just drab." With the presidential announcement of Pierre (Pete) du Pont, the week's giggle here is that the state with only three electoral votes already boasts two presidential aspirants, clearly putting Delaware out front as likely winner of the year's State Power-Grabber Award. —CATO

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bringing out a monthly critique of the media called *Newswatch*. The latest issue summarizes how the evening news broadcasts have ignored falling unemployment, rising GNP, and low inflation, while playing up the theme of the "sluggish economy." Other items include a report on how the *Washington Post* and the CBS Evening News have been running down Rehnquist. Finally, *Newswatch* measured the amount of time human-rights troubles in countries friendly to the U.S. (South Africa, Chile) received versus countries like Nicaragua and Afghanistan. Guess? Almost 95 per cent of the media's firepower was directed at U.S. allies, and away from Communist atrocities.

☐ *New Republic* editor Hendrik Hertzberg really does believe that Mark Green will beat Al D'Amato this November, and he'll bet. "The parimutuel windows are still open," he writes to Jeffrey Hart, in the wake of Green's primary victory. "Step right up." How about $50, even money, Hendrik. (Don't bet with Eleanor Smeal, Hendrik.)

☐ And there's a new health menace on the scene. This comes from Fort Pierce, Florida, where a teenager is thought to have danced himself to death to the thundering rock rhythms at a non-alcoholic teen nightclub.



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☐ The United Nations is meeting a reported cash bind by reducing travel and hiring fewer additional outside consultants and other such niceties at the heart of the UN system, and it doesn't sound like much of a financial crisis to us, no, not nearly enough.

☐ Harry Jarpan has married a Kawasaki Z1300 motorcycle named Mildred, in a touching ceremony at Lake Curriamundi, Australia, and it really is time to pull out of ANZUS.

☐ Going the rounds in Moscow: St. Peter to young Russian at the Pearly Gates: "So you want to get into Heaven, Vladimir Dostoyevsky? But let me ask you, what have you done to earn such a reward?" Vladimir: "I praised God's holy name in Red Square." St. Peter (excited): "Why, that is extraordinary! When did you do this?" Vladimir (consulting his watch): "About three minutes ago."

## Daniloff

HERE WE GO again. In the narrowest bureaucratic definition of the term, the arrest of Nicholas Daniloff might, just might, have been a "mistake." No one outside of the Soviet Union knows whether or to what degree, if any, the KGB enjoys a certain autonomy, including protection at the highest levels.

But correctly assessed, this was not a "mistake." It was the Soviet regime behaving in the way the Soviet regime behaves—crude, brutal, careless of consequences, irrational from the standpoint of its friends in the West, who keep trying to put a good face on things while cautioning the boors to clean up their act. From the people who built the Berlin Wall and brought down Korean Airlines Flight 007, the arrest of Daniloff was perfectly consistent with the overall behavior pattern.

Mikhail Gorbachev is the first Kremlin boss since 1917 who looks like a normal human being. You could take him to a good restaurant without causing a riot, and he has a wife who does not dress in potato sacks. But do not forget what his backer Andrei Gromyko said of him when he assumed power: Gorbachev has "steel teeth."

The Daniloff affair was indeed crude, and that was, precisely, its rationale—its go-to-hell crudeness. We had arrested a low-level Soviet spy in New York. Almost immediately thereafter, a Soviet acquaintance in Moscow handed Daniloff a package that he did not have time to open before the KGB grabbed him. Talk about a "chilling effect." Moscow, for one thing, was telling all Western journalists in the Soviet Union that they, too, are *hostages*. An objectionable dispatch could move your name to the top of the hit list. The Kremlin also signaled that it considers Ronald Reagan a patsy, no doubt because of his silly eagerness for a Summit meeting. President Reagan sent Gorbachev a personal letter affirming the obvious, that Daniloff is not a spy. In ignoring this, Gorbachev publicly proclaimed that he considers Reagan a liar. Steel teeth.

The episode revealed, again, the conceptual fissure within the foreign-policy apparatus of the Reagan Administration. The split is between the realists and the accommodationists. The President began well enough, asserting that there would be no tradeoff of guilty spy for innocent reporter. At the same time there was plenty of background noise to the effect that, yes, a deal might be made. And there was State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb declaring to the press that "The objective here is to win the release of Nick Daniloff, rather than engage in retaliatory actions." The objective, of course, is not to "win" the release of Daniloff, but to do so under circumstances that do not reward kidnappers and place at greater risk every Westerner inside the Soviet Union. The accommodationists desire a Summit meeting at virtually any price, and they are fetishistic about "arms control," but nothing can possibly be achieved at any Summit, and no "arms-control" agreement is even possible if the Soviets are convinced that we are soft-headed fools. They do business only when they perceive that the other fellow has steel teeth too. If they think that the accommodationists are in control, they know that they do not even have to worry about SDI.

## On Terrorism

WITH ALL THE subtlety of an artillery barrage, an outburst of terrorism has again illuminated the global landscape. In Karachi, a hijacking with 18 dead. In Istanbul, a synagogue is assaulted and 21 worshippers killed. In Beirut, two Americans are kidnapped and a once great university paralyzed with fear. In South Korea, an airport bombing leaves five dead. In France, multiple bombings leave six dead and scores injured.

The appearance of French President Jacques Chirac on national television to declare war against terrorism dramatized how deeply terrorism is beginning to affect the collective psyche of the West. France, long apathetic to terrorism, is suddenly in the lead, waking up to the fact that the civilized world is at war.

As in any war, the key to victory over terrorism lies in understanding the nature of the threat. Publicity is the only serious objective of terrorism, and public fear is the fuel that feeds it. In 1985, only one in 29 million passengers on American airliners was killed by hijackers—yet fear of terrorism is far greater than fear of being struck by lightning. Terrorism's true toll is not measured in numbers of victims, but in the disintegration of the fabric of civilized society. To com-



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bat the fear that terrorism thrives on, efforts to combat terrorism should be as low key as possible, and governments should do all they legally can to minimize the publicity given terrorist acts.

There are three categories of terrorism, each very different in nature and each requiring a different approach. The first is terrorism directly initiated by foreign governments. This should be treated with the same patience and forbearance with which we would respond to an open declaration of war. The U.S. air strike against Libya provides an ideal model for future responses.

The second variety is terrorism that receives support and assistance from foreign governments, but that is not directly initiated or controlled by those governments. The USSR's covert encouragement of anti-Western terrorism is a prime example. Syria's seedy shenanigans are another. Here, draconian sanctions against the suspected government are called for; it should be held accountable for any actions encouraged by its general policies, even if it was not directly involved. Such an approach requires a courage that, regrettably, not even the Reagan Administration has yet mustered and a unity that the Western world sorely lacks. Here is where we continue to be passive.

The third variety of terrorism stems from movements and factions not linked to foreign governments. This is the most common form of terrorism, but also the one with the least serious international implications. Better police measures and tighter physical security are the only measures called for. We simply have to accept that there is no fundamental difference between a random murder in Detroit or Los Angeles, and a random murder by international thugs. Both are outrageous; both should be combated with similar means.

## Chile

PRESIDENT AUGUSTO PINOCHET got away this time from a skillful attempt upon his life, but the Left in Chile is alive and shooting.

As is the case in South Africa, the likelihood now is that Chile's many problems will be resolved one way or another in a bloody civil war. There is a chance that the new constitution will work its way through the political minefield, but only a chance.

Chile has a strong middle class, Spanish, French, English, and German in its ethnic roots, and a very high degree of civilization in Santiago, Valparaiso, and other cities and towns. It has a long democratic tradition possessing genuine roots. It also had, when President Eduardo Frei left office in 1970, the largest Communist Party, per capita, in Latin America. More bad news, to the left of the Communist Party was the large Socialist Party.

The nineteenth-century "whig" constitution, aimed at guaranteeing a weak executive, prevented the very popular President Frei from running for re-election, though Frei is not exactly a hero. He thoroughly politicized the economy, propping up weak industries at the expense of a productive agriculture, and is surely responsible for much of the evil that followed.

Salvador Allende is customarily referred to in the American media as the "elected" president of Chile, as, indeed, he was; but he was a minority victor in a three-way race and had no intention of governing under the old constitution. He promptly proceeded toward the Communization of Chile—the "Chilean Road to Socialism," as it was called at the time. Shortly before the coup, the parliament fell only a few votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to declare Allende "in violation of the constitution," i.e., to impeach him, for violation of freedom of the press, of the freedom to travel within the country, property rights, and so on. This is never mentioned in the U.S. media regarding the "elected" president.

Cornered during the coup in the presidential Moneda Palace, Allende killed himself with a machine gun that had been a present from Fidel Castro. His daughter fled to Havana and married the head of the DGI, the Cuban version of the KGB. Later she died mysteriously, announced as a "suicide."



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Such was the "elected" president of Chile. The rule of the Pinochet junta was expected to be transitional, toward a return to representative government, and it may yet prove to be so. The old constitution certainly needed to be replaced. The transition now calls for a 1989 yes-or-no plebiscite on a candidate to be named by the junta. Pinochet no doubt believes that the candidate will be himself, but powerful opposition exists within the military itself. If the electorate votes "no" to the still unnamed candidate, then a multi-party election will ensue. The projected constitution calls for a strengthened executive within a representative system.

The advance, of course, is painfully slow; but bliss it would be if any such process were under way in Cuba, let alone in the Soviet Union. The Left, however, abhors the process out of a fear that it will be successful, and will resort, increasingly, to violence in the meantime. Of course, the Reagan Administration is talking about "sanctions" against the Pinochet regime.

## Who's Next?

WE GOT RID of Marcos and Duvalier, now let's get rid of Pinochet and maybe President Chun in South Korea, right? Tony Lewis of the *New York Times* has nominated Augosto Pinochet of Chile as the next target for destruction. And there is always South Africa.

One large area is off-limits, however: the Communist world. The *Times*'s Tom Wicker was quick to shoot down the suggestion that if Marcos can be toppled, so can Daniel Ortega. Nicaragua, said Wicker, is entirely different, hear that, *different.*

Liberalism observes its own version of the Brezhnev Doctrine: What Communism has, it keeps. Communist gains must be treated as irreversible. South Korea may be a target of liberal pressure; North Korea, never. Chile, *sí*; Nicaragua, *no*. As Communism divides the world into the "zone of peace" (already under Communist control) and the "zone of war" (areas still free and therefore up for grabs), liberalism divides it into what may be called the zone of reality and the zone of morality.

The zone of reality (as in "Like it or not, the Soviet Union is a reality we have to learn to live with") is exempt from moralizing campaigns of destabilization. It is adamantine, unchangeable, and, by the way, Communist-ruled. The zone of morality is occupied by corrupt, repressive right-wing strongmen whose regimes are inherently unstable. (Anything anti-Communist is "right-wing.") As liberal opinion prowls restlessly after its next prey, it immediately and automatically rules out all Communist territory such as Afghanistan and Angola. (Anti-Communist moralizing is "cold-war rhetoric.")

The striking fact about Marcos, as about other anti-Communist "strongmen," was that he was a weak man—too weak to resist the temptation to enrich himself, too weak to erect a Gulag, too weak to massacre. Like Richard Nixon, like so many others, he was a flawed figure of just that sort of vulnerability that invites the attentions of the world's predatory packs of moralists. Marcos even tried to appease his critics by holding an election. Gorbachev and Castro could have given him some pointers.

## Who Knows?

MOST OF THE press have reported the recent 86.61-point fall in the Dow Jones industrial average as a record drop. They note that even during the Great Crash of 1929, the most the Dow Jones fell on a single day was 38.33 points. Is this another crash? Are we getting set for another Great Depression?

Probably not and probably not. The main reason: As the *Wall Street Journal* noted, the recent drop was from a much higher level than the drop on October 28, 1929 and therefore much smaller percentagewise: 4.61 per cent versus 12.8 per cent. However, if the recent drop does herald another depression, the reason could well be the ugly protectionist mood sweeping Congress and threatening to unravel international trade. The protectionist measures being considered by Congress, like Senator Smoot's tariff bill of 1929, would reduce our standard of living. Still, if protectionism caused the drop, why did the market choose September 11 as the day on which to react? Did something happen the day before to make protectionism more likely? We don't know.

## Ex-Empire State

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN'S victory over Bella Abzug in the New York Democratic senatorial primary in 1976 caused many hopeful souls, of a neoconservative temper, to celebrate the deliverance of the state's party from the clutches of leftism. The rejoicing, it seems, was premature.

The intervening years have brought us St. Mario, who defends liberalism in religious terms (in his famous San Francisco speech, he called Francis of Assisi the "truest Democrat"). Moynihan, who knows better, has made a long, lazy slide to the left. Last fortnight's primaries reconfirm the trend.

The Beast Pat Slew, Bella herself, returned to life by capturing a congressional nomination in Westchester. On the Upper West Side of Manhattan, in Bella's old district, her successor and soul mate, Ted Weiss, easily turned back a less rabid challenger (Weiss was the man who called for Reagan's impeachment after the liberation of Grenada). The big left-wing score, though, was the senatorial primary victory of Mark



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Green. Green, whose only public experience consists of a losing run for Congress and working for Ralph Nader, beat out businessman John Dyson for the right to challenge Republican-Conservative incumbent, Alfonse D'Amato. Dyson had pots of money and the backing of dozens of pols. But Green was most left, and that is what New York Democratic primary voters want. His victory has set the hive buzzing nationwide. Barbra Streisand sang for him at a fundraiser in California.

The hive apart, New York's resolute—indeed, deepening—liberalism has taken it out of the national political mainstream. In national terms, the state has become a backwater, like the Old South from Appomattox until the 1970s. New York, which has produced a number of Presidents, two—the Roosevelts—in this century, hasn't had a nominee since Tom Dewey. The Greens, Weisses, and Abzugs won't be next.

## Your Slip Is Showing

An American Civil Liberties Union study purports to show why capital punishment is wrong. It contends that 25 innocent people have been executed in the U.S. since 1900. Among these martyrs were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

This is a spectacularly unhappy, though highly apt, illustration of what's wrong with the ACLU's whole approach to social problems. It prefers nibbling at the margins of major questions to facing them squarely, and its apparent appeals to empirical evidence are all too clearly a mask for left-wing ideology.

What if you think the record shows that the Rosenbergs were a pair of traitors? Was their execution justified in that case? And mightn't it have been a miscarriage of justice *not* to put them to death?

Edwin Meese has been endlessly savaged for describing the ACLU a few years back as a "criminals' lobby," but he had a point. The ACLU's vision of "social justice" somehow doesn't include justice for the normal order of society. It is obsessed with marginal cases and never concedes that a crime may be so serious as to deserve the death penalty. In its agenda, the criminal, including the Communist traitor, is always a victim. The cost to society of expanding the claims of such people is never a serious factor in ACLU calculations. Every gain for the criminal is also a gain for the Constitution.

The ACLU began as a lobby for left-wing causes. Its founder, Roger Baldwin, was for some years an open fellow-traveler of the Soviet Union, where, he announced in the early years of Stalin, there was no need for a civil-liberties' union, since the working class ruled. (Baldwin was subsequently a vigorous anti-Communist.) The ACLU's national board also included several top members of the American Communist Party. Today the ACLU maintains its old-time irreligion. Not only the Rosenbergs but Sacco and Vanzetti are cited in its study as executed innocents, contrary to scholarly conclusions about the case. It says a lot about the ACLU that it still thinks it can move hearts and minds by brandishing these radical icons of yore.

But the world has moved on. The guilt of the Rosenbergs is acknowledged by many of their erstwhile defenders. If the ACLU simply wants to say that these traitors shouldn't have been executed no matter what they did, which is obviously what it really thinks, it should come right out and make its case. That would be more honest than throwing dust in the eyes of history.

### None Dare Call It Déjà-Vu

On the day he nailed his theses
To the cardinal's front door,
Martin Luther, too, was Catholic,
Just like New York's governor.

W. H. von Dreele

## Ted Turner Is Nuts

Media whiz Ted Turner, who gave us the Moscow International Friendship Games this summer, has also given birth to a maggot, the Better World Society (BWS). The method? To produce and distribute television programming so as "to use nationwide television as an outreach and organizing vehicle to involve more and more people in arms-control efforts."

Founded in 1985, and already operating with a budget of $1.5 million for this year, the BWS threw a $125-a-person dinner party for some five hundred people at the Waldorf-Astoria on primary night. Its First Annual Awards Dinner. The keynote speaker was none other than Mario Cuomo, although Jimmy Carter, another onetime governor aiming for better things, was there too. During a brief photo opportunity session, shortly before the dinner, Turner stood there between the two men, glowing with pride.

"Prior to 1980 I was a happy-go-lucky businessman," Turner told a press conference that morning. No longer. He is now radical chic. The BWS has some very specific objectives, a TV program making the case for a nuclear test ban being the principal one at the moment, as he revealed during that same session, for to stop testing "is the single most effective means to disarmament." To that end there will be a steady supply of films distributed, some of them produced by other "sympathetic-issue groups" (like the Center for Defense Information), and possibilities for



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grass-roots organizing around the issues presented in the films (toll-free phone numbers at show time's end). When asked about the Daniloff case—the key litmus test of Soviet behavior at the time of the award dinner—Turner brusquely said: "We are dealing with global issues—not little individual crises that rise day to day. Next question."

## Life Arrives at the FTC

THE CONSUMER has a new friend at the Federal Trade Commission, our own Dan Oliver. Mr. Oliver, who graced the offices of *NR* in the mid-Seventies as Executive Editor, served the Reagan Administration in the Departments of Education and Agriculture before being appointed FTC chairman several months ago. If his first major address—before the Antitrust Law section of the ABA—is any indication of the FTC's future course, well, there just may be a new Renaissance in the wings for free trade.

Mr. Oliver's theme was the indisputably crucial role that competition plays in a healthy society, vital not only to the economic welfare of the consumer, but to the strength and resilience of democratic political institutions. The primary source of restrictions on competition? Government, at all levels. His indictment: that the state, in the very guise of protecting competition through antitrust laws, has all too frequently managed to do just the opposite, to stifle competition throughout the economy. "Antitrust doctrines . . . have regularly been invoked to prevent competitive pricing, competitive distribution arrangements, competitive joint ventures, and competitive mergers." The FTC has long been part of the problem.

How does it work? Well, for one thing, the commission often focuses on numbers at the expense of hard analysis, particularly in the area of mergers and acquisitions. At one time, *pro*-competitive mergers could be foreclosed if the resulting market share were as low as 5 per cent. What the FTC should be looking at is whether the merger raises "the likelihood of collusion, tacit or explicit, and therefore lead[s] to higher prices." Competitive pricing is often struck down as "predatory." Although thoroughly discredited by economists today, the myth still governs that many price restraints—and resale-price maintenance in general—are inherently anticompetitive. Also destructive are wrong-headed *exemptions* from antitrust law, as in insurance (the McCarran-Ferguson Act), agricultural cooperatives (perhaps valid when passed fifty years ago, but difficult to justify today), health care, taxicab regulation, housing (rent control), and textile import quotas (all of which hurt the poor most of all). "The market tends to correct its mistakes relatively quickly. Government mistakes are forever . . ."

Some progress in fact has been made in recent years. In just one favorable decision among several, the Supreme Court this year (in *Matsushita*) acknowledged that predatory pricing schemes are "rarely tried and even more rarely successful." And now Mr. Oliver comes aboard, calling for revisions in the FTC's 1982 Horizontal Merger Statement and in the Justice Department's Merger Guidelines of 1982 and 1984 (improvements in and of themselves) and for vacating orders after a reasonable period if no sufficient justification can be given for keeping them. He will also, he informs us, look into the possible repeal of the McCarran-Ferguson and Robinson-Patman Acts: "When I think of the cascade of anti-consumer Robinson-Patman decisions over the years, I am reminded of a headline I saw recently in one of my favorite newspapers, the *National Enquirer*: It said, 'Stop Me before I Kill Again!'

"[Competition] is one of the linchpins of a free society," says Mr. Oliver, "and its principal antagonist is unquestionably the state. . . . My campaign for the next two years will be to speak out on behalf of free and unfettered competition and for the benefits it brings to American consumers and to American citizens." Yes indeed. The time is surely at hand.

# NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Note to: Our readers
Re: Chilton Williamson Jr.

We take great pleasure in announcing the election of Chilton Williamson Jr. as a senior editor of *NR*. Mr. Williamson has been in charge of the back of the book since he took it over from George Will ten years ago. He will continue to administer that department, and to write his own column, "The Right Books." Chilton Williamson Jr. has published two books (*Saltbound: A Block Island Winter*, Methuen, 1980; and *Roughnecking It*, Simon & Schuster, 1982). His first novel, tentatively titled, *City of Refuge*, will be published by St. Martin's in March of next year. He is currently at work on a second novel.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

How in the world could THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE ascribe to Shakespeare (!)—if only hesitantly—Burke's "unbought grace of life"??

You are sentenced to the following penance: Put the whole resounding section from the *Reflections on the French Revolution* to music, and play it on your harpsichord.

Sincerely
Fred Somkin
Department of History
Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y.



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☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

The adventures of Blackford Oakes are proving to be nearly as entertaining as the exploits of Nero Wolfe and Archie Goodwin. I believe I've caught you in an error, though.

On page 99 of *The Story of Henri Tod* you issue Tod a Hi-Standard .22 revolver fitted with a silencer. A revolver cannot be silenced; gases and noise escape through the gap between the cylinder and the barrel. During the Second World War the OSS did develop a silenced Hi-Standard, but that was a semi-automatic.

It's fun to catch Bill Buckley making a mistake. How long now before Blacky must eliminate a gunrunner named Hall? Please keep the stories coming.

Yours sincerely,
Thomas Hall
Greenfield, Wis.

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In regard to Kem Putney's July 18 Trans-O-Gram [*Romans Twelve: Verse Three*: "For by the grace given to me I bid every one among you not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think with sober judgment, each according to the measure of faith which God has assigned him"], I do not feel he has any more grace than the rest of us, so where does he get off telling us not to think more highly of ourselves than we deserve?

I resent sanctimonious pleadings in Trans-O-Grams. Furthermore, I shall think as highly of myself as I choose regardless of how minuscule is my measure of faith.

Heatedly,
Virginia E. Hill
Wayzata, Mont.

Dear Miss Hill: That's good, because we think very, very highly of you! Cordially WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

A Baltimore television station (13) asked a series of questions of candidates who are vying for the right to represent Maryland in the U.S. Senate; the seat being fought over is currently held by Senator Mathias who, as you are aware, is retiring at the end of this term.

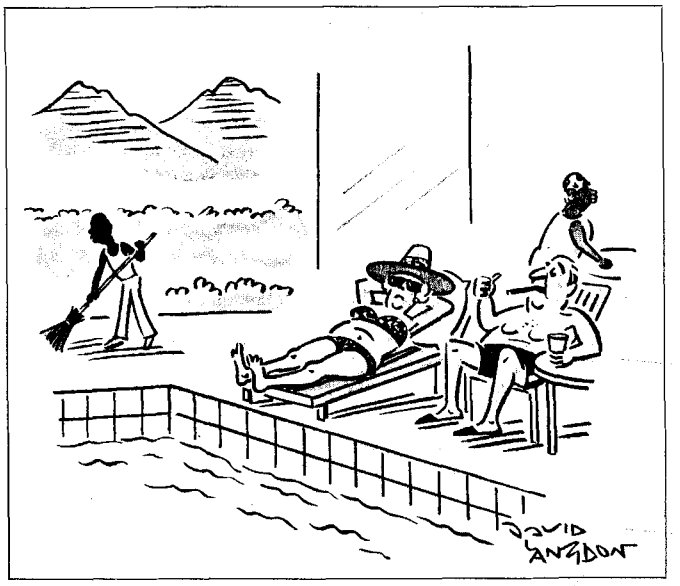
Unfortunately, Barbara Mikulski is a candidate for the Senate and therefore was one of the respondents. It went something like this:

INTERVIEWER: Who is the leader of the African National Congress?

MISS MIKULSKI: Jonas Savimbi.

The most disturbing part of Miss Mikulski's ignorance is that one has come to expect it. While it certainly bothers one that a leading Democrat would display so profound a want of knowledge, it would be much more shocking to one's system if Miss Mikulski answered correctly.

I attribute my insomnia and inordinate anxiety to the fact that I reside in the same state as Barbara Mikulski *and* Michael Barnes. Is it reasonable of me to ask the Supreme Court to rule this cruel and unusual punishment?




Langdon, *Punch* / Rothco

*"That's the time to start worrying—when they've thought up a negative name for South Africa."*

Sincerely,
Jeffrey G. Miller
Eldersburg, Md.

Dear Mr. Miller: Yes. Quite reasonable. Moderate. Go right ahead. Your cordially, WFB

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Tom Wendel

You will be interested in the following paragraph from London's *Harpers-Queen* monthly, in an article that gives "the inside word on the New York social-political scene":

> Pat Buckley's husband, Bill, is editor of *New Republic*, the liberal political journal, and their joint parties which mix Democrat senators with Reaganite refuseniks are part of the infrastructure of New York Society.

Dear Tom: He even got infrastructure wrong! Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Bill,

Tim Wheeler's letter in the August 29 issue puts in mind the last words of René Descartes, when he was asked on his deathbed if he needed anything, "I think not."

Sincerely,
Norman Hines
Farmington Hills, Mich.

**—WFB**



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# GORBY FEVER

A POLITICIAN BOUNDS energetically up to the crowd of factory workers, smiles broadly, lets loose with a colorful anecdote. He listens intently to what the laborers say about work conditions, inefficiency, corruption. He promises to change things.

A Democratic senatorial candidate looking toward November? No. Mikhail Gorbachev. Since he began ruling the Kremlin in March 1985, the 55-year-old Gorbachev has dramatically altered the face of the Moscow leadership, from the superannuated, lumpish look of Brezhnev, Chernenko, et al. to a relatively dynamic and expressive visage. With his fashion-conscious wife, Raisa, at his side, Gorbachev is leading the Great Communicator a merry chase in the world of public opinion.

Gorby fever has caught on, especially in the press. A recent cover story in the *Christian Science Monitor* gushingly called Gorbachev "the Kennedy of the Kremlin." *Time* wrote that "Mikhail Gorbachev is a walking advertisement for the different Soviet way of doing things." The impact has spread to Washington, and savants here are saying that when Gorbachev comes off as open and accommodating, pressure builds on Ronald Reagan to deal with the Soviets on arms control, notably SDI, an issue half the Administration doesn't want on the bargaining table, and the other half does.

How deep is the Soviet shift? Observe this: At the Communist Party Congress last February, Gorbachev called for *glasnost* (public openness). With that pronouncement, newspapers at the national and provincial levels (discreetly) opened the information levees to this news-dry society. On previously cloaked issues, the Soviets have suddenly become forthcoming: Russian alcoholism runs rampant; negligence is charged against the two ship captains who let their vessels collide in the Black Sea, losing hundreds of lives; Chernobyl has cost $4 billion to date.

In Vladivostok at the end of July, the Soviet leader made "friendly" trade overtures to Asian and Pacific countries. After more than thirty years of bitter relations, Gorbachev opened the door to rapprochement with the Chinese, so persuasively that Deng Xiaoping says he is ready to summit with the Soviets if they take a "solid step" to get Vietnamese troops out of Cambodia. More recently still, the USSR surprised the world by announcing that it wanted to join OPEC, GATT, the World Bank, and the IMF.

It's not just Gorbachev. New public figures suddenly abound in the hitherto faceless totalitarian tableaux—like Valery Legasov describing reactor modifications, Yuli Vorontsov talking about nuclear-test verification, Chief of Staff Akhromeyev expatiating on the nuclear-testing moratorium. It was probably the "new politics" that shoehorned the unsmiling Andrei Gromyko into sinecuredom and launched the dapper Eduard Shevardnadze into the Foreign Ministry. Sleek Yuri Dubinin became U.S. ambassador.

"Civilized relations" is the vogue phrase both the General Secretary and his Foreign Minister use to describe Russia's revised foreign-policy posture. An anti-Brezhnev stance, this strategy repudiates the frosty bipolar style of Gromyko as ideologically *simpliste*. "Gorbachev has bought into these basic criticisms of the Brezhnev period in a big way," says Duke political-science professor Jerry Hough, at Washington's Wilson Center. Is the old Russia being supplanted by the new?

All of the foregoing, of course, is B.D.—Before Daniloff, the *U.S. News & World Report* correspondent framed as a spy by the KGB and jailed. Now suddenly the train has jumped the tracks. Beneath the "openness" mask is the same cruel Stalinesque visage. The much-acclaimed *glasnost* suddenly is seen for what it probably largely is—a collection of giveaways on easy issues.

"Events always overwhelm PR," says a Sovietologist consultant to the Defense Department. "The new Soviet style is largely pragmatism and cosmetics, not principle, so it will shift again as styles do." The Soviets will abandon the "pretty words," he says, when they start to pose a threat to the grand Leninist strategy. As for Chernobyl, the USSR stonewalled until the West demanded information, "reverting to type," says another Washington Kremlinologist. "Soviet 'openness' is not a linear progression." Even at Vienna, the Soviets tried to save face on Chernobyl. "When truth-telling—no matter how much they tailored it—became the tactic, that was oppressive to them."

THE CENTER of the action, Gorbachev, is enigmatic, if not deceptive. "He's different, but not that different," says the Defense Department consultant. "Totally produced by the system that got him where he is, he won't be quick to abandon it." Even acknowledging the shift away from the Brezhnev style, true openness is nowhere evident. "Gorbachev and others in the government still hold the warped notion of the U.S. as dominated by the military-industrial complex, and he says it all the time," the consultant notes.

"Even under the assumption that Gorbachev is truly bent on *glasnost*, he won't destroy his base of power by making too many big changes," says a State Kremlin-watcher. The brutish KGB arrest of Daniloff, he adds, "shows there are still plenty of purist ideologues in power in the USSR."

All of which inclines Reagan policymakers here, and many others, to regard Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's description of Gorbachev as still the most accurate and felicitous: "Brezhnev in a $900 suit." □



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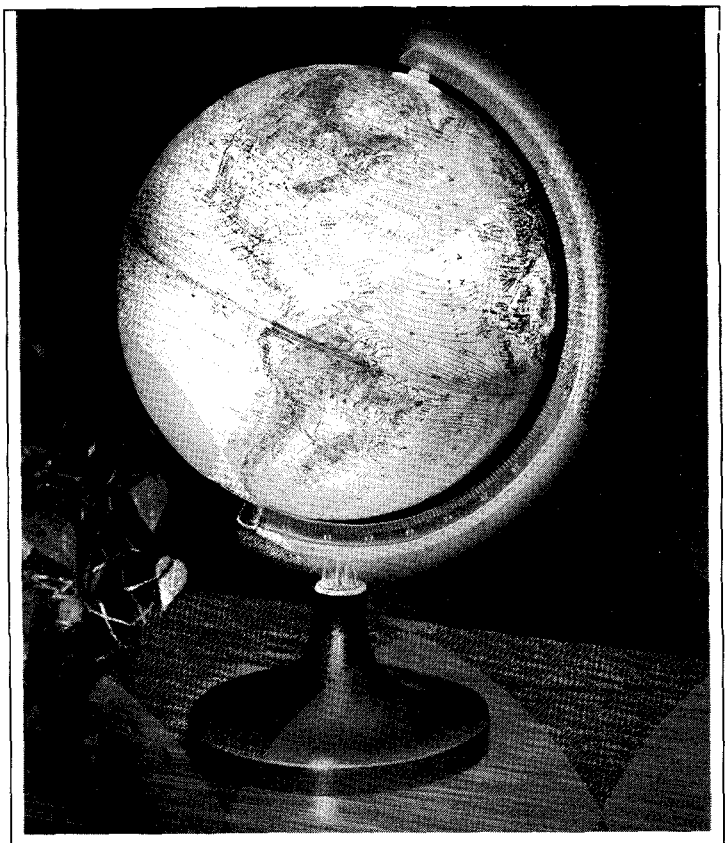

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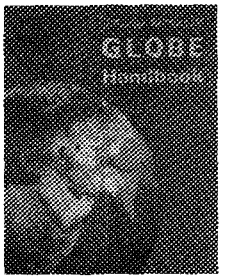


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# CAPITAL BULLETINS

## LOVEY-DOVEY

LES ASPIN, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has urged Democrats to shed their image as the Dr. No of the defense debate. And, thanks in part to good press and in part to some courageous votes (Aspin supported aid to the Nicaraguan Contras, for example), he has succeeded in creating a new pro-defense image for himself and, some hope, for the Democratic Party as well. But do Aspin and his fellow Democrats on the House Armed Services Committee deserve the new respect the media are according them as lean, shrewd hawks? A quick glance at the record of the House Armed Services Committee suggests otherwise.

"Democrats should not just cut the Reagan defense budget," said Aspin. "While cutting several billion from the Reagan request, we ought to consider adding back a few billion for programs that Reagan has ignored." Specifically, Aspin argued that the Strategic Defense Initiative should be cut to make room for more conventional weapons. True to his word, in 1985 and 1986, Aspin and his fellow Democrats did cut billions from funds for research and development, procurement, readiness, and training, and they did cut SDI. They also cut virtually every conventional-weapon program (see chart).

The Midgetman missile is a pet project of Aspin's. He and other Democrats view the missile (still under development) as an alternative to the ready-for-deployment MX. In fact, Aspin used his support for the Midgetman as a justification for cutting funding for MX missiles in half. Yet this summer Aspin led a fight to preserve the never-ratified SALT II treaty—which would outlaw deployment of the Midgetman missile.

When the D.C.-based monthly *Arms Control Today* questioned Aspin about this discrepancy, he responded by saying that while he supported the Midgetman for now, he and fellow Democrats may oppose the missile in the 1990s, when it is ready for deployment. In other words, Aspin believes the United States should not build the weapons that are ready to go now, because research will yield a better weapon in the future. And then, when those better weapons are ready, we shouldn't build them either.

Aspin is currently garnering fulsome praise from a number of writers genuinely interested in a strong defense: Fred Barnes and Charles Krauthammer at *The New Republic*, for example, and Jackson-wing mainstay Ben Wattenberg. A closer look at Aspin, however, reveals that he is just a dove in hawk's feathers. —GREGORY A. FOSSEDAL

**MAJOR CUTS IN DEFENSE PROGRAMS**

| SYSTEM | 1985 CHANGE | 1986 CHANGE |
|---|---|---|
| MX missile | Cut 27 of 48 missiles | Cut 9 of 21 missiles |
| F-16 Falcon | Cut 30 of 150 planes | Cut 66 of 216 planes |
| D-5 missile for Trident | Cut 10 of 580 missiles | Didn't cut or add |
| F-15 Eagle | Cut 6 of 48 planes | Cut 24 of 48 planes |
| Standard missile | Cut 75 of 1,316 missiles | Didn't cut or add |
| FA-18 Hornet | Cut R&D 4% | Cut 36 of 120 planes |
| F-14 Tomcat | Cut R&D 12% | Cut 5 of 15 planes |
| Strategic Defense | Cut R&D 35% | Cut R&D 29% |
| C-5B Galaxy | Cut R&D 4% | Didn't cut or add |
| M-1 tank | Cut R&D 3% | Cut R&D 28% |

Source: House Armed Services Committee — Copley News Service

## THE FARMER ON THE DOLE

UNDER STRONG pressure from Majority Leader Robert Dole, the Reagan Administration has agreed to subsidize grain exports to the Soviet Union, with the American taxpayer footing the bill. By voice votes and with Reagan's blessing, Congress passed bills requiring the Administration to extend export subsidies to the Soviet Union and Communist China. No one knows exactly how much this attempt to buy the farm vote will cost the taxpayers. However, grain-export subsidies, by bolstering production and keeping land in surplus crop, are bound to boost the already skyrocketing cost of farm price supports. In 1981, the federal farm programs cost $4 billion. In 1986, the Department of Agriculture estimates they will top $30 billion.

But Dole's play for farmers' loyalty will cost America more than just money. For once, Secretary of State George Shultz, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, CIA chief Bill Casey, and Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Richard Lugar all agree on a foreign-policy question: Grain subsidies to the Soviets are a bad idea. America's allies in the South Pacific, particularly Australia (a major wheat-producing nation), have reacted with shock and indignation. The Australian government had been given firm assurances that U.S. export subsidies would only be directed to markets into which the Europeans are already dumping their wheat at subsidized prices. In a stinging letter to the U.S. Government, Australian Prime Minister Robert



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Hawke protested: "It is hardly credible to Australians that the United States should now be preparing to subsidize the Soviet state in this way, at the expense of American taxpayers and to the immediate detriment of America's friend and ally, Australia." Hawke warned he could not now credibly argue to small South Pacific island nations that they should rebuff Soviet overtures for fishing and economic agreements.

The embarrassing thing for Reagan, Dole, and the Republican Party is that the Soviets have shown little interest in buying U.S. wheat, even at subsidized prices. Under the current five-year agreement, the Soviets are committed to buying four million metric tons of wheat annually—a goal they missed last year and probably won't meet this year either. In early September, in a desperate attempt to get some grain sold before the November elections, the Reagan Administration tempted the Soviets with a still lower price on U.S. grain, but so far the Soviets still aren't buying.

—Peter Samuel

## THE LITTLE WAR

The Freedom-Fighters Assistance Act of 1986, a controversial new proposal backed by Republican senators like Malcolm Wallop and Robert Dole, is running into some surprising opposition from conservatives. The act, which supporters describe as an attempt to institutionalize the Reagan Doctrine, sets standards anti-Communist guerrilla movements must meet if they are to receive U.S. military aid.

The legislation is the brainchild of Warren Carroll and Charles Moser, who outlined the idea in their book, *Combat on Communist Territory*. Carroll believes the Freedom-Fighters Assistance Act would establish the anti-Communist guerrilla movement as a fact of late-twentieth-century life—like Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. "Popular indigenous movements against Communist rule are, in my considered opinion as a historian, the most important development in the last twenty years," says Carroll. "It is vital to our national interest that we take advantage of the opportunity and focus attention on, or make a phenomenon of, freedom-fighters." Since insurgencies, to be successful, require consistent support over many years, Carroll believes it is important to institutionalize U.S. support for anti-Communist guerrilla movements.

The Freedom-Fighters Assistance Act would establish criteria for deciding which anti-Communist insurgencies the U.S. should back. To qualify for American aid, a group must, among other things, operate in at least 20 per cent of the country, field an army of at least five thousand men, and declare its willingness to negotiate with the government "for the purpose of achieving a peaceful resolution to the conflict. . . ." Mike Hammond is a member of the Senate Steering Committee and helped draft the legislation. He believes establishing this kind of general legitimizing criteria would make it "easier to convince a Gore or Sasser" to support individual movements such as those in Nicaragua and Angola.

But other conservatives believe passage of the Freedom-Fighters Assistance Act would be a disaster. Conservative activist Morgan Norval, who attended strategy sessions to develop the bill, calls it "a conservative Boland Amendment" that would "surrender psychological advantage to the Soviets." The Soviets, Norval charges, would know the exact limits of our support. In addition, the legal criteria for U.S. support laid out in the bill could be "nitpicked to death" by congressmen hostile to anti-Communist insurgencies. Democrats, for example, might interpret the provision about "operating" in 20 per cent of the country to mean "controlling" 20 per cent.

Norval also voiced fundamental disagreement with the bill's underlying philosophy. Maurice Bishop used 15 Cubans to topple the Gairy regime in Grenada, Norval pointed out in a letter to Moser; if they had been democrats rather than Communists, the fact that there were only 15 of them would have made them no less worthy of our support. Other conservatives object to the provision requiring freedom-fighters to declare their willingness to negotiate with their enemies. Communist forces under attack have historically proven adept at using negotiations as a tool to gain time to regroup and attack again. In the midst of a civil war, declarations of intent to negotiate with a Communist government must be either hypocritical or foolhardy. The lack of consensus among conservatives suggests that the Freedom-Fighters Assistance Act will almost certainly fail.

—R. Cort Kirkwood

## ROMANCING RUMANIA

Rumania is the darling of the State Department, granted most-favored-Communist-nation status for its supposed independence from Moscow. Visionaries who hold out hope for the gradual liberalization and eventual peaceful emancipation of Eastern Europe point to Rumania's maverick foreign policy as an example. Actually, according to former Ambassador to Rumania David Funderburk, Rumania works closely with the Soviets on all major foreign-policy issues. Rumania sends aid to the Sandinistas and to other Marxist guerrilla groups, assists international terrorists, is the fifth largest arms exporter in the world, cooperates with the Soviets militarily, and, of course, brutally oppresses its own citizens.

Nonetheless, as a reward and an incentive for its mythical independence, Rumania has been granted most-favored-nation status by the United States since 1975. This June, when Reagan routinely approved extension of most-favored-nation status to Rumania for another year, House conservatives decided to take exception. In July, Congressman Phil Crane (R., Ill.) introduced a resolution opposing special trade privileges for Rumania. The resolution was purely advisory, expressing the House's disapproval of Reagan's action. Secretary of State George Shultz sent a letter urging congressmen to support the President. In a chamber controlled by Democrats, one might expect that a vote criticizing a Republican President would run on partisan lines. In fact, it did. Only it was Democrats who supported the President's position by a 3 to 1 margin, while Republican congressmen, by about the same margin, opposed him. Because of this unusually strong show of support from Democrats, the Illinois representative's motion was killed. The Democratic Party's priorities are now clear: They'd much rather praise anyone—even Ronald Reagan—than criticize a Communist nation.

—Elizabeth Stentz



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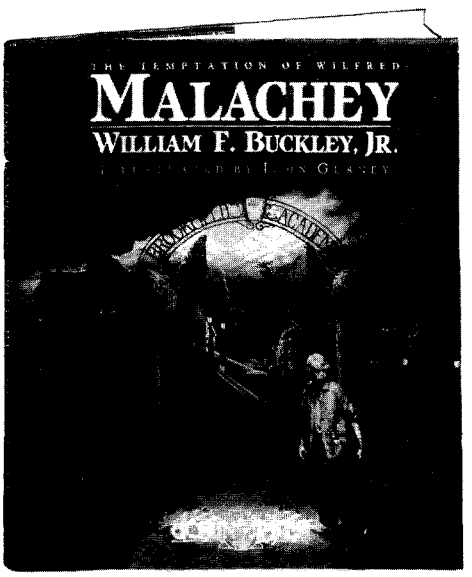


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# THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION AT HOME

GEORGE GILDER

Giora Carmi

*The family . . . is the native soil on which performance of moral duty is made easy through natural affection so that within a small circle a basis of moral practice is created, and then is widened to include human relationships in general.* —*I Ching*

NEARLY A CENTURY AGO, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels first anticipated and revealed to the world the secret dream of the sexual revolutionary. "In communist society," they wrote, "where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, *society* regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd, or critic."

The contemporary sexual liberal would wish to banish male bias from the dream. Assigning to "society" the duties not only of "general production" but also of reproduction, the new dreamers would extend to women as well as men the life of a British country squire. Liberating both sexes from restrictive roles and moral codes, the dream would bring a new spirit of sharing—of jobs, bodies, vocations, and pleasures. People would be full "human beings" rather than oppressed men and women.

There are two problems with this arrangement, and unfortunately both are fatal. The first problem is that except in an abstract sense there is no such thing as "society." Both production and reproduction, therefore, will be left to particular human beings. The second problem is that there are no "human beings," just men and women. Since the nature of things assures that men will do most of the production and women most of the reproduction, we are back where we started before Marx and his modern followers began their reveries.

The communal dream always fed on the vast ignorance of intellectuals like Marx about the production of wealth and their aristocratic disdain for the lives of ordinary men and women. To Marx and Engels, the role of men seemed so simple that it could in due course be passed on to a few bureaucrats managing the machines of mass production. To the average sexual liberal, the role of women seems so routine that it can be assumed by a few bureaucrats managing child-development centers. To the current advocates of shared sex roles, both the work of the world and the duties of the home are so undemanding that they can be accomplished with part-time effort.

The truth is, however, that even beyond full-time duties nurturing infants, the mother's role imposes continual challenges. Raising several children is a project that exacts a constant alertness and attention that none of the sexual liberals remotely understand when they urge that "society" do it. With fewer children, kept longer within the household, the focus on each child is even more intense than it was in the past. The near demise of extended families, though it was crucial to the Industrial Revolution, also increased the burdens of the mother alone.

As Midge Decter has observed, previously motherhood was regarded as inevitable: One didn't choose it; one accepted it. Without any sense of other options, the responsibility for numerous children may even have seemed less onerous than the responsibility for a few today. In the past, sickness, mortality, slow learning, and other childhood afflictions were taken for granted as a part of life. Today the mother is expected to control them. To the difficult tasks of caring are now added burdens of medical attention, psychological analysis, and early education. It is not a role that, in its continual and varied demands, men show any serious inclination to perform. Indeed most of the divorced men who gain custody of their children immediately surrender it again to new wives, girlfriends, day-care centers, or female servants.

The dimensions of the modern mother's role are evident in the activities that go on in that center of American child care, the single-family dwelling in the suburbs. Ever since Betty Friedan's *cri de cœur* from Westchester County —then perhaps the richest spot on the face of the earth —feminists have shed public tears for the women doing this crucial labor. Isolated, unstimulated, sexually deprived, trapped by babies, frittering away their talents in boredom and drudgery, these women were seen as victims of male

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*Mr. Gilder is the author of* Sexual Suicide, Wealth and Poverty, *and* The Spirit of Enterprise. *This article will appear in* Men and Marriage, *a fully revised and expanded edition of* Sexual Suicide.



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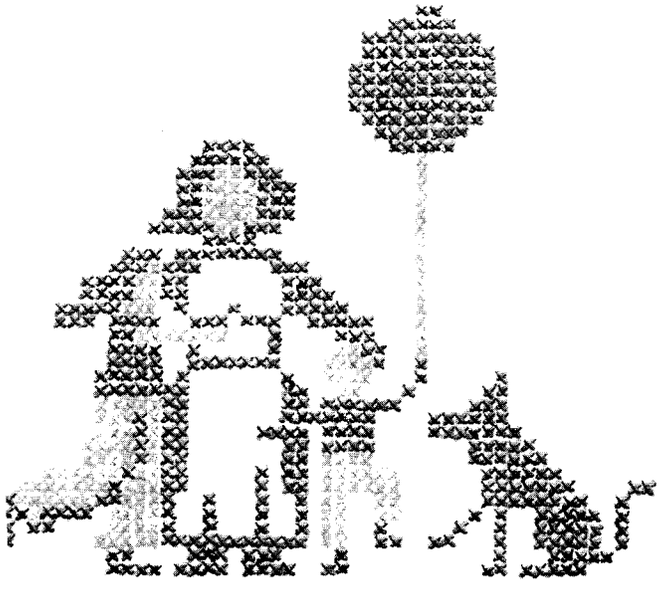
oppression in an exploitative capitalist culture. This description caught on widely, particularly among intellectuals in American universities.

Two sociologists, however, have actually taken the trouble to investigate in great detail the condition of these housewives. Herbert J. Gans, in a study published in 1967, examined Levittown, which was widely regarded as the most alienating of all suburban environments, and Helena Znaniecka Lopata conducted 573 close and specific personal interviews around Chicago for her study, *Occupation Housewife*, published in 1971. They concluded, like many subsequent observers, that people, particularly women, deeply enjoy suburban living, and that suburbanites tend to be among the happiest and least isolated Americans.

In general, Mrs. Lopata and Mr. Gans both depict a panorama of social engagement, community concern, cooperative activity, and even, in many cases, cultural and intellectual animation: a realm of options that substantially exceeds those of either men or working women. Mrs. Lopata, for instance, found that suburban housewives, by a significant margin, were more likely than working women to be using their education in their lives, to be reading widely and curiously, to be maintaining close and varied friendships, and to be involved in community affairs. "The role of the housewife," she writes, "provides her a base for building a many-faceted life, an opportunity few other vocational roles allow, because they are tied down to single organizational structures and goals." Mr. Gans found that only 10 per cent of suburban women reported frequent loneliness or boredom.

Women's activities are far richer in intellectual and social challenges than most academic writers comprehend. It is foolish to imagine that these complex roles and relationships can be abolished or assumed by outside agencies. The woman's role is nothing less than the hub of the human community. All the other work—the business and politics and entertainment and services performed in the society—finds its ultimate test in the quality of the home.



Giora Carmi

The home is where we finally and privately live, where we express our individuality, where we display our aesthetic choices, where we make and enjoy love, and where we cultivate our children as individuals.

The central position of the woman in the home parallels her central position in all civilized society. Both derive from her role in procreation and from the primary and most inviolable of human ties, the one between mother and child. In those extraordinary circumstances when this tie is broken—as with some disintegrating primitive tribes—the group tends to sink to a bestial and amoral chaos.

Most of the characteristics we define as humane and individual originate in the mother's love for her children. Men have no ties to the long-term human community so deep or tenacious as the mother's to her child. Originating in this love are the other civilizing concerns of maternity: the desire for male protection and support, the hope for a stable community life, and the aspiration toward a better future. The success of civilized society depends on how well the women can transmit these values to the men.

This female role has become much more sophisticated and refined in the modern world. But its essence has not changed. The woman assumes charge of what may be described as the domestic values of the community—its moral, aesthetic, religious, social, and sexual concerns. In these values consist the ultimate goals of human life—all those matters that we consider of such supreme importance that we do not ascribe a financial worth to them. Paramount is the worth of the individual human life, enshrined in the connection between a mother and child. These values transcend the marketplace. In fact, to engage them in commercial traffic is considered a major evil in civilized society. Whether proposing to sell a baby or a body or a religious blessing, one commits a major moral offense.

The woman's role is deeply individual. Only a specific woman can bear a specific child, and her tie to it is personal and unbreakable. When she raises the child she imparts in privacy her own individual values. She can nurture children who transcend consensus and prefigure the future: children of private singularity rather than "child-development policy." She is the vessel of the ultimate values of the nation. The community is largely what she is and what she demands in men. The woman in the home with her child is the last bastion against the amorality of the technocratic marketplace when it strays from the moral foundations of capitalism.

In recent years, the existence of a distinctive feminine role in ethics has been discovered by feminists. Seeking to answer male psychologists who regard the masculine defense of justice and equality as the highest level of moral development, female scholars have offered a contrary case for the moral perceptions of women. The leading work in this field is *In a Different Voice*, by Carol Gilligan of Harvard. She postulates a uniquely feminine moral sense rooted in webs of relationship and responsibility, in intimacy and caring, rather than in rules and abstractions.

Professor Gilligan's point is valuable and true, and her book is full of interesting evidence for it. But contrary to her egalitarian vision, women's moral sense is not merely an equal counterpoint to masculine ideals. Stemming from her umbilical link to new life itself and from a passionate sense of the value and potential of that life, the woman's morality is the ultimate basis of all morality. The man's



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recognition of the preciousness and equality of individuals is learned from women and originates with the feminine concern for relationships, beginning in the womb and at the breast. This concern contrasts sharply with his own experience of hierarchy and preference, aggression and lust, and the sense of sexual and personal dispensability he experiences as a single man. Just as outside male activity is regarded in all societies as most important in instrumental terms, women's concerns are morally paramount, part of the crucial realm of life's creation and protection.

What is true for individual moral issues is also true for the practical needs of a nation. There is no way to shunt off child care to "society" or to substantially reduce its burdens. If children lack the close attention of mothers and the discipline and guidance of fathers, they tend to become barbarians or wastrels who burden or threaten society rather than do its work. Raising children to be productive and responsible citizens takes persistent and unrelenting effort. The prisons, reformatories, foster homes, mental institutions, and welfare rolls of America already groan under the burden of children relinquished to "society" to raise and support. To reproduce the true means of production—men and women who can uphold civilization rather than subvert it—the diligent love of mothers is indispensable.

*The man must eschew his desire to be an athlete or poet, a death-defying ranger or mountaineer, a cocksman and Casanova, and settle down to become a functionary defined by a single job*

This female responsibility, as Professor Gilligan observes, entails difficult sacrifices of freedom and autonomy. Other researchers, notably Jessie Bernard, have noted that these sacrifices produce a significantly elevated incidence of emotional stress and neurosis among full-time housewives, particularly when their children are young. Some of this anxiety clearly reflects the sharp rise in expenses and tax burdens incurred by families raising children. Some of the problem is simply hard and grueling work. Part of the distress, though, may derive from the media's widespread disparagement of traditional women. Margaret Mead found that women are most contented not when they are granted "influence, power, and wealth," but when "the female role of wife and mother is exalted." A devaluing of "the sensuous creative significance" of woman's role, she wrote, makes women become unhappy in the home. But regardless of the source of this stress, Professor Gilligan's point is correct. Women do make great sacrifices, and these sacrifices are essential to society.

But contrary to the assumption of most analysts, it is men who make the major *sexual* sacrifice. The man renounces his dream of short-term sexual freedom and self-fulfillment in order to serve a woman and family for a lifetime. It is a traumatic act of giving up his most profound yearning, his bent for the hunt and the chase, the motorbike and the open road, the male group escape to a primal mode of predatory and immediate excitements. His most powerful impulse—the theme of every male song and story—this combination of lust and wanderlust, is the very life force that drives him through his youth. He surrenders it only with pain. This male sacrifice, no less than the woman's work in the home, is essential to civilization.

Just as the female role cannot be shared or relinquished, the male role also remains vital to social survival. Today, no less than in the pre-technological past, men have to make heroic efforts. On forty-hour weeks, most men cannot even support a family of four. They must train at night and on weekends; they must save as they can for future ventures of entrepreneurship; they must often perform more than one job. They must make time as best they can to see and guide their children. They must shun the consolations of alcohol and leisure, sexual indulgence and flight. They must live for the perennial demands of the provider role.

Unlike the woman's work, the man's tends to be relatively fungible and derivative. He does not give himself to a web of unique personal relationships so much as to a set of functions and technologies. Just as any hunter might kill an animal, so within obvious bounds any workman can be trained to do most jobs. The man makes himself replaceable. For most of his early years at the job site, individuality is an obstacle to earnings. He must sacrifice it to support his wife and children. He must eschew his desire to be an athlete or poet, a death-defying ranger or mountaineer, a cocksman and Casanova, and settle down to become a functionary defined by a single job, a father whose children are earned by his work. Not his own moral vision but the marketplace defines the value of that work.

Extraordinary men transcend many of these constraints early in their careers, and many men eventually rise to significant roles of leadership and self-expression. But even then, jobs rarely afford room for the whole man. Even highly paid work often creates what Ortega y Gasset called "barbarians of specialization." One may become a scientist, a doctor, an engineer, or a lawyer, for example, chiefly by narrowing the mind, by excluding personal idiosyncrasies and visions in order to master the disciplines and technicalities of the trade. In some cases, exceptionally successful specialization may bring some of the satisfactions won, for example, by the great athlete. Nevertheless, this process usually does not make a man interesting or whole. In fact, he is likely to succeed precisely to the extent that he is willing to subordinate himself to the narrow imperatives of his specialty, precisely to the extent that he forgoes the distractions and impulses of the full personality.

Among men, the term "dilettante" is a pejorative. Yet, because the range of human knowledge and experience is so broad, the best that most people can ever achieve, if they respond as whole persons to their lives, is the curiosity, openness, and eclectic knowledge of the dilettante. Most men have to deny themselves this form of fulfillment.

As with the woman's role, what is true in most specific cases is still more true on the level of general rules and expectations across the entire society. On forty-hour weeks the world dissolves into chaos and decay, famine and war. All the major accomplishments of civilization spring from



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the obsessions of men whom the sociologists would now disdain as "workaholics." To overcome the Malthusian trap of rising populations, or to escape the closing circle of ecological decline, or to control the threat of nuclear holocaust, or to halt the plagues and famines that still afflict the globe, men must give their lives to unrelenting effort, day in and day out, focused on goals in the distant future. They must create new technologies faster than the world creates new challenges. They must struggle against scarcity, entropy, and natural disaster. They must overcome

*The woman's place is in the home, and she does her best when she can get the man there too, inducing him to submit most human activity to the domestic values of civilization*

the sabotage of socialists who would steal and redistribute their product. They must resist disease and temptation. All too often they die without achieving their ends. But their sacrifices bring others closer to the goal.

Nothing that has been written in the annals of feminism gives the slightest indication that this is a role that women want or are prepared to perform. The feminists demand liberation. The male role means bondage to the demands of the workplace and the needs of the family. Most of the research of sociologists complains that men's work is already too hard, too dangerous, too destructive of mental health and wholeness. It all too often leads to sickness and "worlds of pain," demoralization and relatively early death. The men's role that feminists seek is not the real role of men but the male role of the Marxist dream in which "society" does the work.

"Women's liberation" entails a profound dislocation. Women, uniquely in charge of the central activities of human life, are exalting instead the peripheral values—values that have meaning only in relation to the role they would disparage or abandon. In addition, sexual liberals ask society to give up most of the devices and conventions by which it has ensured that women will perform their indispensable work and by which men have been induced to support it. As a result, in many of the world's welfare states that have accepted the feminist vision, the two sexes no longer make the necessary sacrifices to sustain society.

Shunning the responsibilities of family support, men are rejecting available jobs and doing sporadic work off the books and stints on unemployment insurance. Shunning the role of wife and mother, many women are forgoing marriage. Consequently many Western nations are far overshooting the mark of zero population growth. With each couple bearing, on average, scarcely more than one child, most of Northern Europe now shows a fertility rate about 60 per cent of the replacement level. If this rate continues, dictated by the pressures of excessive welfare programs, it would mean near extinction of the genetic stock within four generations. To a lesser but still dangerous degree, the same pattern is evident in America. The U.S. also is under the replacement level of reproduction.

A nation may gain the illusion of a rising standard of living by raising and supporting fewer children. To paraphrase Allan Carlson, a society may consume for a while the ghosts of the unborn. More specifically, we may eat the meals that would have gone to our prevented or aborted babies. But these gains are rapidly lost. In a vicious circle well known in Europe, smaller generations of workers find themselves devoting ever larger portions of their pay to supporting the child-free aged. Soon the young workers begin reducing their efforts in the face of rising tax rates, and their wives begin bearing still fewer children.

Sexual liberalism is the cause, not the solution, of the problem of the West. But the error of the liberals comes not only in their fantasies of flight from work and children —not only in their illusion that full-time work and child care have declined in importance to modern society. They also deeply misunderstand what makes people happy. The pursuit of promiscuous sexual pleasures, which many of them offer as an alternative to the duties of family, leads chiefly to misery and despair. It is procreation that ultimately makes sex gratifying and important, and it is home and family that give resonance and meaning to life.

The woman's place is in the home, and she does her best when she can get the man there too, inducing him to submit most human activity to the domestic values of civilization. Thus in a sense she also brings the home into the society. The radiance of the values of home can give meaning and illumination to male enterprises. Male work is most valuable when it is imbued with the long-term love and communal concerns of femininity, when it is brought back to the home. Otherwise masculine activity is apt to degenerate quickly to the level of a game; and, unless closely regulated, games have a way of deteriorating into the vain pursuit of power.

It is the judgment of women that tames the aggressive pursuits of men. Men come to learn that their activity will be best received if it partakes of the values of the home. If they think the work itself is unworthy, they try to conceal it and bring home the money anyway. Like the legendary Mafiosi, they try to please their women by elaborate submission to domestic values in the household, while scrupulously keeping the women out of the male realm of work. But in almost every instance, even by hypocrisy, they pay tribute to the moral superiority of women.

In rediscovering for the secular world this feminine morality, rooted in "webs of relationship," Professor Gilligan has done a crucial service. What she and the male moralists she criticizes do not see is that the self-sacrifice of women finds a perfect complement in the self-sacrifice of men. On this mutual immolation is founded the fulfillment of human civilization and happiness. For just as it is the sacrifice of early career ambitions and sexual freedom that makes possible the true fulfillment of women, it is the subordination of male sexuality to woman's maternity that spurs the attainment of the highest male purposes. In his vaunted freedom and sexual power, the young single man may dream of glory. But it is overwhelmingly married men who achieve it in the modern world. They achieve it, as Scripture dictates and women's experience insists, by self-denial and sacrifice. □



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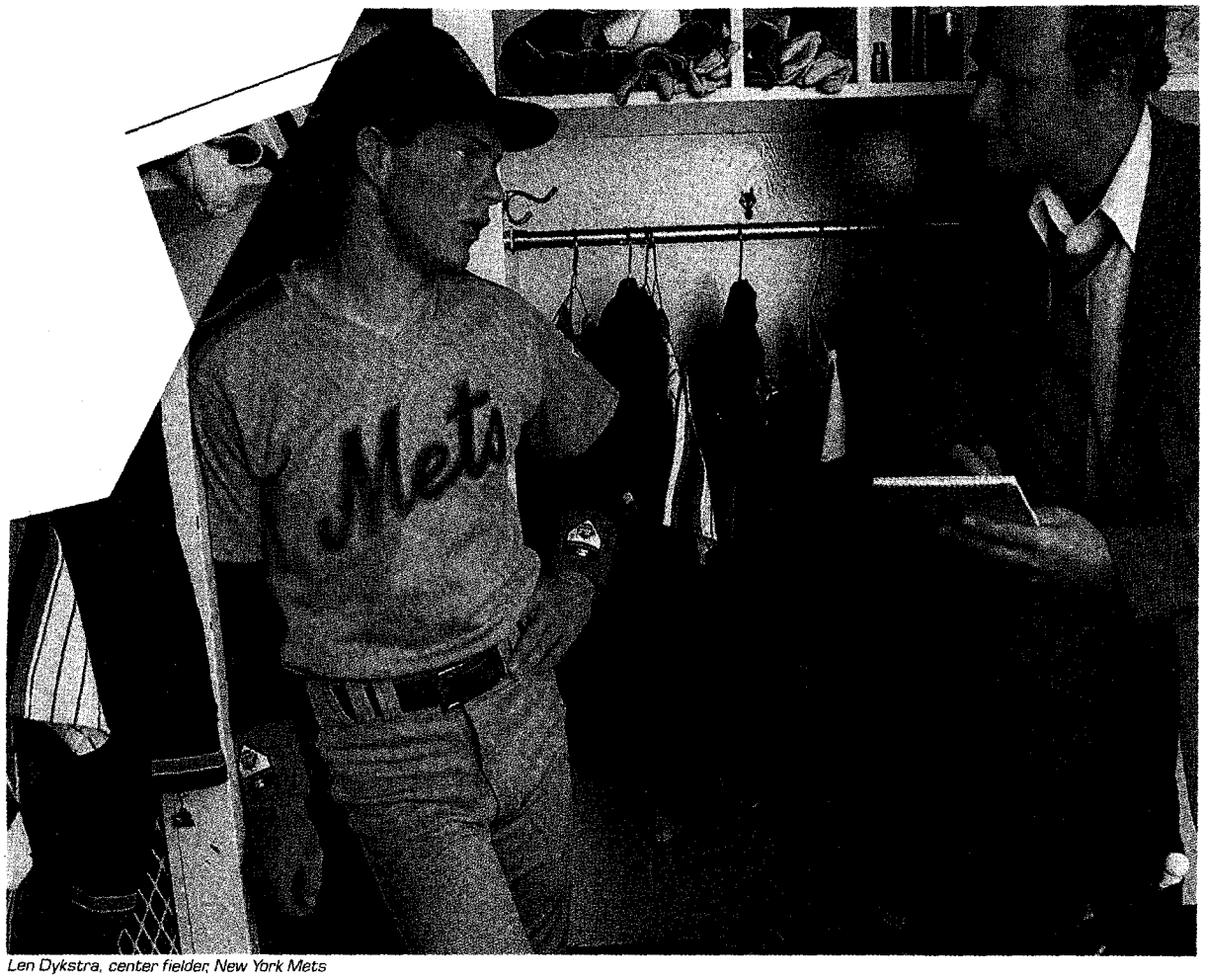


Len Dykstra, center fielder, New York Mets

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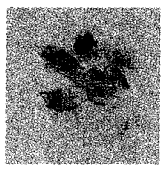

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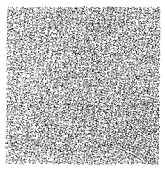

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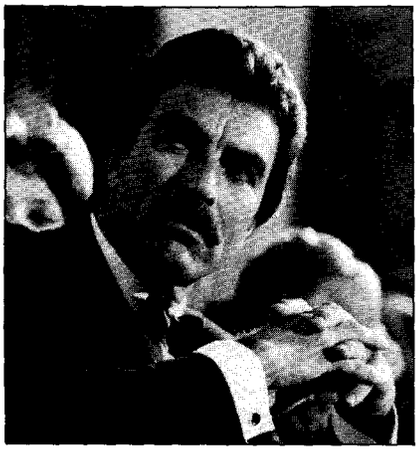

*Top: Congressman Jack Kemp—"In twentieth-century America, who says 'conservatism' says* National Review.*"*

*Bottom: "The gathering was a Who's Who of conservatism—supplemented by neoconservatives, a few journalists, and Tom Selleck."*
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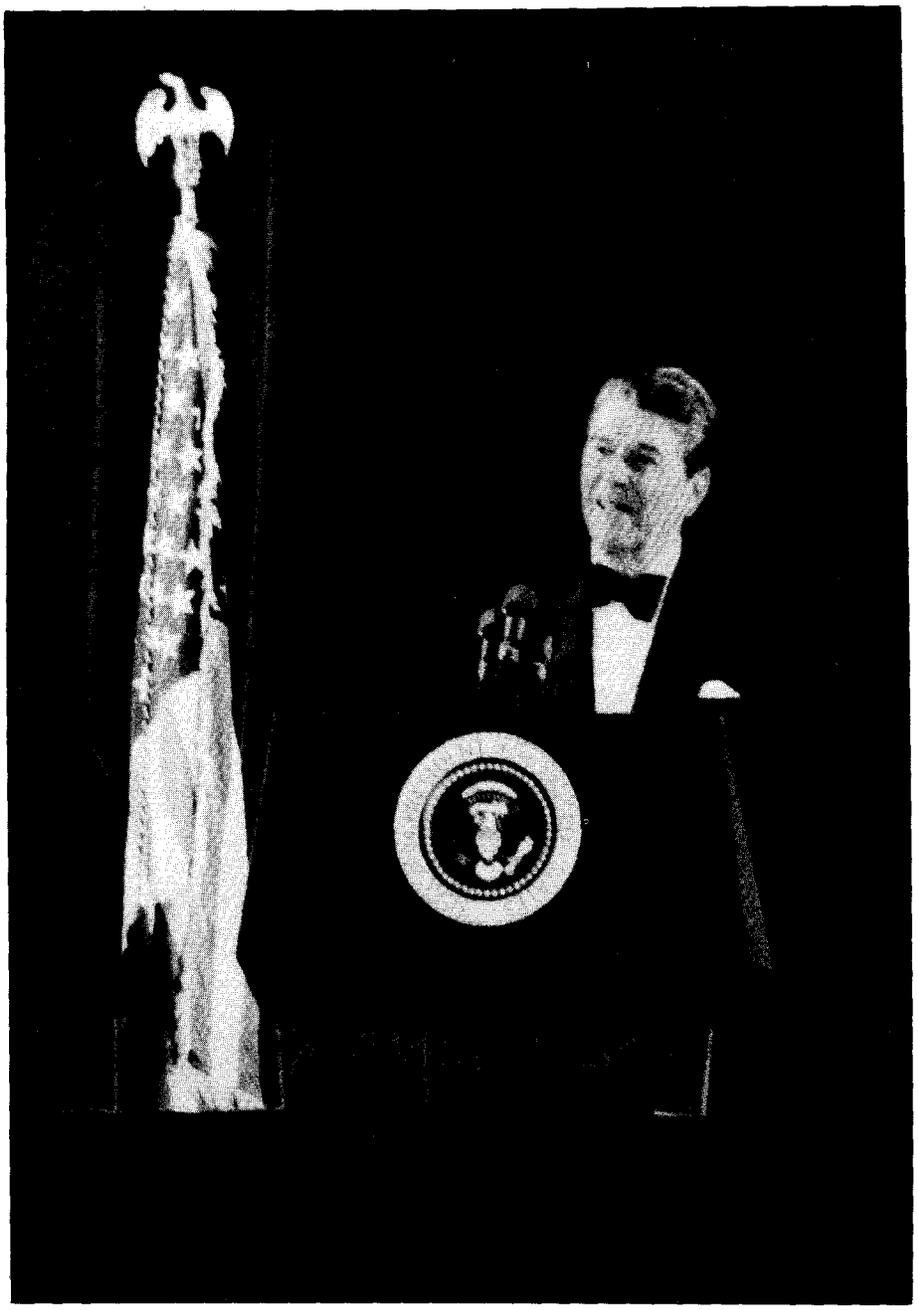

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# CHILDREN ON THE RUN

*Jenny* is 14 years old; she sits in a squad room of the New York City Police Department. A few hours ago she was arrested for prostitution; this could be the luckiest day of her life.*

*Jenny is a runaway from Minneapolis. She's been on the street for almost two years. Jenny's pimp, whom she thinks of as her boyfriend, outfitted her with a false ID that matched her looks, not her age. The officer who arrested Jenny thought she was an adult. Fortunately, Jenny panicked. She forgot the story her pimp had worked out for her and blurted out everything: her real name, her age, that she had a home and a mother waiting for her.*

*Detective Warren McGinnis of the NYPD Runaway Unit has arranged for a flight to Minneapolis at 7:55* P.M. *He has to move fast: Jenny is not out of danger yet. Under New York State law, runaways like Jenny cannot be detained for more than a few hours. Unless McGinnis can get Jenny on a plane tonight, he'll have to drop her off at a voluntary shelter—from which she can run away again.*

*At the last minute a hitch develops. Jenny's airline ticket, prepaid by a child-welfare agency, fails to come through. The agency is now closed and her plane takes off in an hour. Frantic calls to Jenny's mother don't help: She doesn't have the money. For the want of a little time, Jenny may again be lost to the street.*

JENNY IS not alone. Every year thousands of runaways are snatched off the streets and then sent back to them. And police, juvenile courts, and child-welfare agencies stand by, powerless to detain them. As Detective

Guy Lawrence

McGinnis testified before Congress: "If your son or your daughter ran to New York from Kansas, from Pennsylvania, from wherever, and I were to locate them, I could not tell you that I would still have your child tomorrow morning when you arrived to pick them up."

These are the new victims of the children's-rights movement. Under the banner of personal liberty, children like Jenny have acquired a new set of rights: the right to be raped, the right to be beaten, the right to drug abuse, prostitution, homeless nights and pointless days on the streets of America's big cities. Their lives may be nasty, brutish, and short, but they are free from the ominous specter of government interference.

Child advocates call it "deinstitutionalization," and it began innocently enough. During the Seventies, most states, in response to a 1974 federal statute, passed laws to prevent authorities from detaining so-called "status offenders." A status offender is a minor who commits an act that would not be illegal if he were an adult. Truancy is a status offense: Adults are not punished for not going to school. Running away from home is another status offense. Before deinstitutionalization, status offenders were sometimes detained in secure juvenile facilities, usually only for a few days until they could be reunited with their families, or, if necessary, until the appropriate authorities could determine what to do with them.

In some cases, status offenders were detained in institutions for longer periods for punishment or rehabilitation, though this usually happened only to chronic offenders who looked as if they were headed for worse trouble. One of the justifications advanced by some authorities for sentencing status offenders to juvenile correction facilities was that chronic offenders were almost certainly committing real crimes on the street—how else could they live?—but it was better for the kids' future to have status rather than criminal offenses on their records.

Today, although laws on status offenders vary from state to state, status offenders only rarely find themselves legally detained. In some states, runaways may be held in secure facilities for up to three days; in others, children can be detained for at most a few hours.

Deinstitutionalization has had a profound impact on the juvenile-justice system—most of it good. Prior to 1974, displaced children in many communities wound up either on the streets, or in juvenile jails. "I worked in Galveston, Texas, prior to passage of the '74 act," says June Bucy, executive director of the National Network of Runaway and Youth Services. "Before it passed, eight hundred children were in jail in Galveston County. Lots of kids were raped, a few committed suicide. One woman got hauled off to jail for writing a bad check. She left

*The case histories in this article are authentic—not composites. They were drawn from conversations with police officers and social workers all over the country. The children's names have been changed to preserve confidentiality.

*Miss Gallagher is the assistant article editor of* NATIONAL REVIEW.



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three kids, the oldest around 12. The police didn't know what to do with them so they just threw them in jail and left them there for several weeks."

Under the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, Congress determined to withhold federal funds from states that detained status offenders. Sponsors of the law were spurred by a cluster of concerns and assumptions: that status offenders overloaded the court system; that putting street kids in with hardened delinquents made detention centers schools for crime; that isolating status offenders from the community left them unprepared for normal life; that contact with the law-enforcement system would encourage kids to label themselves as criminals and act accordingly; and, finally, that by using voluntary, community-based shelters instead, authorities could provide a network of educational, psychological, and medical services that would prevent future delinquency.

But, though it was in large part an attempt to curb *abuses* of authority, deinstitutionalization also carried an ideological burden that subtly transformed it into a crusade against authority per se. Rooted in the social-science theory of "stigmatization" or "labeling" (whereby children are held to believe and act out what society implicitly tells them about themselves), the child advocates' desire to keep children out of contact with legal authorities became, in some cases, a fetish. Some child advocates viewed delinquency as a disease children "caught" from proximity to the criminal-justice system. In 1976, in accord with the political progress of these theories, the federal Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee urged Congress to consider "the harsh impact that even brief detention may have on a juvenile, especially when he/she is placed in a secure facility." The report does not distinguish between types of detention —holding children was, in itself, considered harmful. The report's conclusions were cited by the 1977 Senate Judiciary Committee report to justify pressuring states to limit short-term detention of status offenders to 24 hours or less.

*At 16, Angela fled her pimp because he threatened to kill her for disobedience. Raped by her stepfather at age ten, Angela started working the streets at 12. She was placed in foster care, but repeatedly ran away. Severely infected with VD, Angela needed a hysterectomy, but she never stayed in one place long enough to get medical care. Angela's social worker believed he had only one way to help her: ask the court to emancipate her, then lock her up as an adult.*

Ironically, the 1974 act prompts some police officers to arrest juveniles they might otherwise seek to divert


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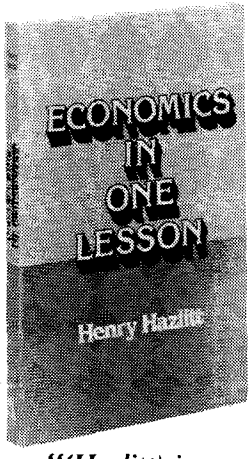


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away from the criminal-justice system. Lieutenant Raymond Gott of the L.A. County Sheriff's office confirms that police sometimes reach "for 602 [delinquent—i.e., more serious] offenses" in order to be able to arrest and prosecute cases that would otherwise be ignored. This is done, says Gott, "because the officer likes a kid and wants to do him a favor."

For Judge John Milligan of Ohio, a leading critic of radical deinstitutionalization, such perverse paradoxes are the logical result of Congress's decision to view "kids as little adults." Remarks Milligan, "Congress enacted the appealing theory into law that if you leave kids alone and let 'em do their own thing, they'll turn out OK."

In 1980, in response to criticism of the more extreme results of deinstitutionalization, Congress passed an amendment allowing judges to place juveniles in secure detention facilities if necessary to enforce valid court orders. Even that concession did not come without a fight. The peculiar ethos of the children's-rights advocates surfaces in the heated exchanges between the late Representative John Ashbrook, who sponsored the amendment, and his colleagues who opposed it:

> MR. MILLER [opposed to the amendment]: I think we have to understand that many of these young people are then placed, if the gentleman's amendment is passed, are placed in the intolerable situation of they can either go back to intolerable living situations, either in their family, in a foster home, at the schools, or they are going to jail . . . this is really a very good amendment for a lazy judge. All that he has to do is lock the child up . . .
>
> MR. ASHBROOK: My colleague advocates the very novel idea that a 14-year-old has judgment superior to the judge of the court . . .
>
> MR. MILLER: I would ask the gentleman: What would you do? Would the gentleman just go home and let his father beat him and stay there until 18 or 21 years of age so he could leave home? Is that what the gentleman would do?

In the course of the debate, Representative Miller and his comrades, in order to prove that runaway children are rational agents, argued successively that homes are abusive, that foster homes are abusive, that schools are violent, and that judges are frequently lazy and sometimes cruel. In the America of the children's-rights advocates the only safe refuge is the street.

Guy Lawrence

The internal logic goes something like this: How horrible to be beaten, neglected, sexually abused. Would any sensible person remain under these conditions? Of course not. Therefore, children who run away from home are sensible persons; we must respect their right, as sensible persons, to make their own decisions. As Mr. Miller expressed it in his let-it-all-hang-out lingo, "Not everything individuals do in the nature of personal freedom today is a crime."

In the real world, the personal freedom of runaway children is illusory. Most street kids are mentally and emotionally disturbed. A study by the New York State Psychiatric Institute found that the majority of runaway children in New York have severe psychiatric problems "almost identical" to those of young people being treated at psychiatric clinics. The Wisconsin Female Juvenile Offender Study Project discovered that 72 per cent of the state's female chronic runaways had attempted suicide. Twenty-one per cent of all runaway girls had been raped while on the street. More than 30 per cent bartered sex for food, money, or shelter.

*Beth is 12 years old. Picked up for prostitution, she agreed to testify against her pimp, who had kidnapped her. Police and shelter officials were pleased: Here was one young girl, at least, who wasn't "in love" with her pimp. Then, Beth told a shelter attorney that her latest pimp had kidnapped her from another pimp. She did indeed want to testify against the second, bad pimp, but then she expected to be taken back to her first pimp, who was "good" and "nice" to her.*

Deinstitutionalization has also enervated police efforts to help runaways. Though in some cities, such as New York, active police runaway units do everything possible for street kids, often in defiance of the spirit if not the letter of the law, many police officers have given up trying.

In San Francisco, according to Inspector Richard Hesselroth, who heads the city's runaway unit, police avoid street kids altogether. There is almost never a street "sweep" because "it wouldn't be practical under the current situation," Hesselroth says. "What can we do with runaways anyway except bring them up to Youth Guidance and then they walk out?" In many cities, children spotted in the worst areas of town aren't even picked up, because police assume they are hardened street kids who will run away again at their first opportunity. This attitude, though understandable, has dark consequences: Most people who work in child welfare agree that to stop runaways from becoming delinquents you have to get to them fast, before they assimilate into street life.

FATHER BRUCE RITTER, who runs Covenant House in New York City, a world-famous private shelter for runaways, is outraged at what he views as official disregard for the welfare of street kids. Covenant House is completely voluntary. In conversation, Father Ritter emphasizes that troubled kids must want to change if they are to straighten out their lives. But because he knows what living on the streets does to children like Beth, he agrees that in a significant number of cases secure detention facilities are the only answer. A 13-year-old girl living on the street should "absolutely be put in a closed program," he says. "She is pimp bait. Six months on the street and she'll be so personally damaged that it will be almost impossible to help her. She'll be lucky if she survives to her 15th year."

Father Ritter points out that deinstitutionalization has done good as well as harm, and he doesn't want to see runaways placed in juvenile jails as



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they sometimes were in the past. But, in Ritter's view, the government has not only a right to detain endangered young children, but a duty: "I don't think you can let a 13-year-old girl just wander loose, and I don't think the state has the right to say, 'We're going to wash our hands.' "

Yet that is just what the state is doing to thousands of children each year—children like Kelly, a girl who ran away from an abusive home in Seattle. Five times Kelly was picked up as a runaway by San Francisco cops and sent to shelters. Five times she split "on her 73rd hour," when shelter officials could no longer detain her. Today, Kelly is dead, the victim of a drug overdose—but her right to self-determination was fully respected.

In March of this year, the United States Attorney General's Advisory Board on Missing Children recommended amending the 1974 act to permit states to take runaway and homeless children into custody, provided that they are not kept in the same facilities as adult or juvenile criminals; it encouraged states to change their laws accordingly. "We believe that children have a right to custody with parents or legal guardians who provide care, support, discipline, and love," the report declares. "They do not have a right to freedom from custody."

THIS MAY seem like common sense. It outraged the child-advocate community. "The report is very dangerous," comments June Bucy. "It defines runaways as children who abandon their parents; that seems a crazy definition to me. Rarely have I seen a child run when there wasn't something happening . . . divorce, or abuse, or something." Gordon Raley, director of the D.C.-based Child Welfare League, calls the report a travesty. He is particularly offended by its characterization of the deinstitutionalization movement. "No one wants children's rights," he exclaims. "We want all children to obey laws. We want families to be strong and take care of children. We want this country to take care of its children and to strengthen its families . . . I think these things are said on purpose to get people riled up."

The do-gooders who urge doing nothing have a point: We do not have a good alternative to the family. We can take abused children out of bad homes; we cannot give them good parents. We can provide adequate food, housing, and medical care; we cannot legislate love. And inadequate, unloving families are becoming more common all the time. A recent study by two Canadian psychologists published in the *Journal of Ethology and Sociobiology* reports that pre-schoolers in a home with a step-parent are forty times more likely to be abused and far more likely to run away than children from homes with two natural parents.

An increased tolerance for teenage sexual activity may also play a role in undermining families. Romantic liaisons, especially with adult men, may lure teenage girls from the protection of home, and sometimes lead them to the streets. Even when these men are not


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pimps, the visions of love and security prompted by the sexual tie may lead such girls to break out from under parental authority too soon.

It is not the fault of the child advocates that the American family is in difficulty. They are an easy group to caricature, but most are dedicated professionals who devote a lot of time and energy to saving troubled kids. Nevertheless, in talking to many child advocates, it is impossible not to notice an ideological pattern. They may not want to emancipate children, but they have an habitual distrust of authority, at least in the hands of anyone other than social-service workers. They tend to assume that efforts to secure kids are essentially punitive and vindictive in nature. Officials of the Reagan Administration in particular are assumed to have a personal disposition toward oppressing children. Having witnessed abuses of judicial authority, child advocates are reluctant to see any decision-making power returned to judges. Some do seem to believe that detaining kids is a violation of their civil rights. Gordon Raley compared curfews for kids to the curfews for blacks of a generation ago. June Bucy did not strongly oppose the 1980 Valid Court Order amendment, but she thinks it's a bad idea because "a capricious judge who doesn't like kids can use that to punish kids."

This anti-authoritarian theme has run through the deinstitutionalization movement from its inception. Consider an article by Celeste MacLeod that appeared in *The Nation* on April 20, 1974, applauding the Bayh bill, which was then in the Senate Judiciary Committee: "The runaway girl is a fugitive, forced to live like an escaped convict . . . ," Miss MacLeod laments. "Legally she must be under the supervision of a parent, guardian, husband, or the state until the day she turns 18." And again, "Preventive detention, a practice we deplore in Communist or Fascist countries, is all right in our own, as long as it is applied only to children."

Alongside this bias against authority sprang up a paradoxical lust for uniformity. The 1977 Senate Judiciary Committee report maintained that "Several areas where improvement in [the] system is needed are obvious. First the fragmentation and localization in institutional response to delinquency can be decreased . . ." Social reformers may not know what to do about chronic runaways, but they do know that every state ought to do the same thing. Yet the problem of runaways and status offenders varies in degree and kind in different areas of the country. Small towns don't face the same problem as big cities. A few cities, such as Los Angeles and New York, face unique difficulties. The glamor of Hollywood, for instance, attracts thousands of adolescents from all over the country—particularly girls, for whom enterprising men set up "crash pads" offering shelter for sex. In such a bizarre environment voluntary shelters may actually encourage runaways: Many use such shelters as a kind of motel—check in when you're really down, get a shower and a good meal, then back to the streets.

The Federal Government has made laws dealing with chronic runaways uniform; it has not made them effective. As a result, states have been denied the opportunity to look for other, perhaps more successful, strategies. "The result is we've gone another 12 years without experimentation. That sounds like a terrible word, but without it, you don't know a whole lot," says Judge Milligan.

Experimentation may not be the right word. But raising children is an art as subtle as the human psyche; it cannot be done successfully under blunt and uniform ideological restrictions. Good parents are better than good institutions at raising children precisely because parents are intimate enough with their children to know their needs and understand what the children are saying even when they refuse to say it. Anyone engaged in raising a particular child will know that the assertion that any restriction on a child's behavior is a violation of his rights is absurd. Indeed, some apparent restrictions may not even be a violation of a child's *will*: Any good parent and most good psychologists know that children need authority and become demoralized or even neurotic without it.

THERE ARE, scattered throughout the country, a number of state child-welfare agencies and institutions that obey the letter of federal law on deinstitutionalization, while defying its spirit. The success of these facilities makes clear that it is the child-advocate ideology, more than any particular practice, that is the villain of deinstitutionalization in its extreme form.

Until July of this year, Julie Faye administered the Massachusetts shelter system for delinquent youths. Massachusetts contracts with private agencies to maintain shelters, all of which are officially "open." Yet, under Miss Faye, the state started telling contractors that their responsibility is to keep children in the shelters. Contractors with high runaway rates risk losing their contracts; those with low runaway rates are rewarded. In successful shelters, kids are kept in place not with locks and keys but with aggressive staff work: lots of attention and appropriate assertions of authority. This makes obvious sense, especially for children who aren't severely disturbed—parents don't keep kids in line by locking them up but by asserting their authority convincingly. One Massachusetts facility, which a few years ago had 120 runaways a year, recently went 12 months without a runaway under the new system.

IN HOUSTON, the major facility for status offenders is Chimney Rock Center. When it first opened, according to Bernard Hunter, a senior staff member at the Houston juvenile probation office, Chimney Rock was non-secure in letter and spirit. At times, says Hunter, the runaway rate approached 50 per cent. Today, Chimney Rock is a "staff-secure" facility. Legally the kids can leave; they are not locked in. But if a staff member spots a child attempting to flee, he pulls the child aside, sits him down, and tries to talk him out of it. Chimney Rock now has a runaway rate below 5 per cent. The choice is not, as the child advocates would have it, between dying on the street and lying in jail. Frightened runaways don't always need guns and bars to keep them safe; sometimes all they need is an adult to tell them "no."

Under the Carter Administration, such facilities could have cost a state its federal funding: The Office of Juvenile Justice issued a regulation forbidding what it called "psychologically secure" facilities, defining any facility that controls access or egress in any way as a jail. "Any well-run home becomes a jail by that definition," notes

*(Continues on page 61)*



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# *nce upon a time,*

long, long ago, we had what we thought was a very good idea, which was: Why not ask our own readers to help us find *new* readers? Heavens no! said wiser heads than ours (we were very new at this kind of thing), that's just plain asking too much of *anybody.* Oho, we answered, but our readers *aren't* just anybody, and we can't broadcast invitations like mass-circulation magazines and take on anyone who answers. No, the people we must look for are people very much like the readers we already have—people with similar ideas and outlook, tastes and values—the very ones, it seems logical to assume, who are much better known to *you* than to us, because they are your friends and relations and business associates, etc. And lo these many years we have asked our readers to rrriiippp out a postcard (just like the one facing this page) and use it to introduce some worthy friend to NR—give it to him with your recommendation, or use it to send an introductory gift subscription. And you have: thousands of you have done this simple but invaluable favor for us (some of you many, many times!). Without that kind of help from you, NR could never have become what indeed it has become—one of America's most influential publications. Influence someone *you* know today. **As we so often say, just use the card facing this page today!**

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# help !!!!

## Epitaphs

**GOLFER**
Above the turf
His game is done,
Below the turf
A hole-in-one.

**SECRETARY**
She takes more space
Now she is dead—
A classic case
Of steno's spread.

—GLORIA A. MAXSON

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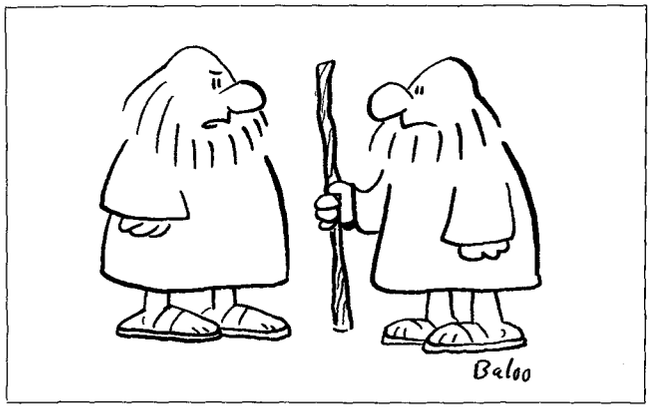
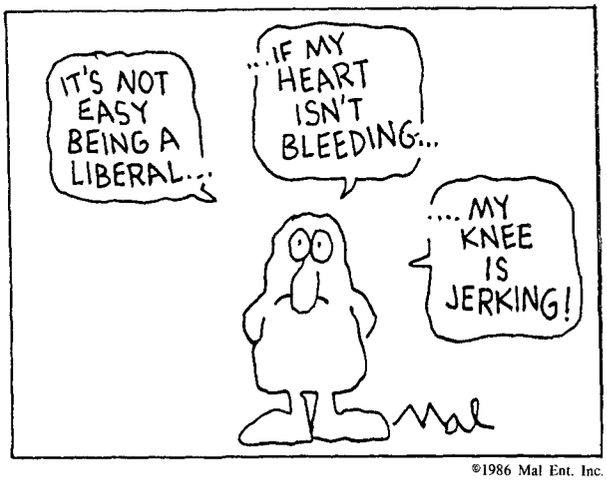
"WE PASSED! CAN YOU?"




*"So what if they beat their swords into plowshares? Have you ever been slugged in the chops with a plowshare?"*

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ONE WONDERS HOW THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL REACT TO THE ARREST OF AN AMERICAN JOURNALIST.
PROBABLY WITH THE SAME CRUEL AND UNUSUAL JAWBONING THAT FOLLOWED THE KAL FLIGHT 007 INCIDENT AND THE SHOOTING OF MAJOR NICHOLSON!
HAR!
DANILOFF
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# ABROAD

BAGHDAD *Going on Seven*

The war between Iran and Iraq—the Persian Gulf War—is entering its seventh year without any substantial prospect of peace. It is true that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein recently addressed an open letter to the Iranian government calling for an "honorable peace" and warning of a new Iraqi offensive otherwise. But the Iranian leadership is not at all ready for peace on such "equal" terms as Iraq proposes. It will never, according to foreign observers, agree to any settlement that does not "punish" Baghdad for having started the war, and that does not include an admission by Baghdad that it is materially and morally responsible for any damage sustained by Iran. In fact, Iranian leaders are talking of a stepped-up campaign of their own at the end of this year. One of the Ayatollah Khomeini's delegates to the national defense council said recently that the period of late 1986 through March 1987 will be "a crucial moment in the history of Islam, the region, and the world." Economic difficulties intensified by the fall in world oil prices only make appeals for greater mobilization the more urgent to the Iranians, who would like to finish off the war before another year goes by. Iraq has a much smaller population than its enemy, but it is heavily armed by the Soviet Union and by France, and presumably could go on resisting the pin-point attacks that the Iranian general staff has been devising against it. But Iraqi morale is low, and the ranks of the army have been seriously depleted, even though Iraq's casualty figures are lower than Iran's. In the war of attrition that this conflict has become, Iran continues to have the advantage of the big battalions.

ROME *Puffs and Huffs*

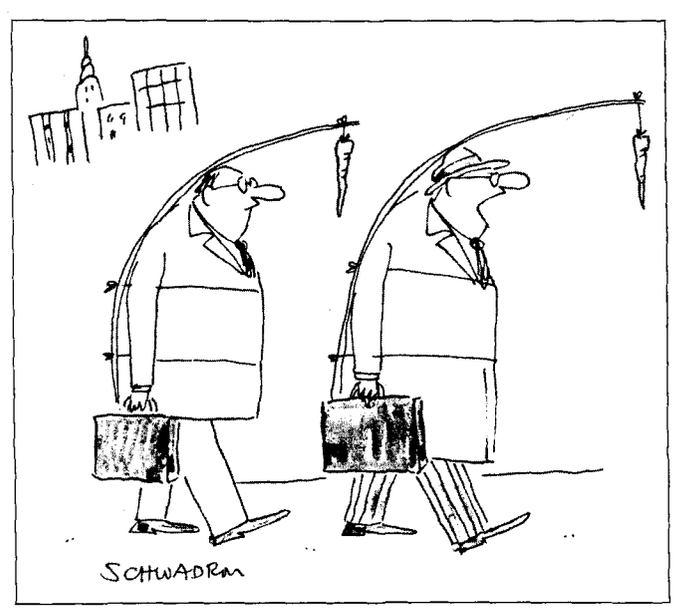
In Italy—where traditionally smoking is more freely indulged in than in some other countries—the cigarette has at last come under attack. A new bill, approved by the cabinet, would severely restrict smoking in public places and require cigarette packages to carry health warnings. If the bill is passed in parliament, smoking will become illegal in public offices, schools, hospitals, and public transport, including domestic flights. Smoking would also be outlawed in theaters, in museums, and in office buildings and factories that do not have air conditioning or other suitable ventilation. Restaurants and bars would be required to set up restricted areas for smokers as they have in parts of the United States. The Italian government stands to lose a large slice of the six trillion lire ($4.2 billion) it collects annually in cigarette taxes.

MADRID *Sand and Blood*

Bullfighting is widely thought of as the national pastime of Spain. According to statistics for last year, it is thriving, with more than 31 million tickets to bullrings sold. The sport employed 158,000 people and took in a gross of almost $200 million. More than 24,000 bulls were done to death. But Spaniards themselves have become to a considerable degree indifferent or hostile to bullfighting: A recent poll showed only 34 per cent of them actively supporting it. It is foreign tourists who are responsible for the apparently healthy condition of the sport, according to a Ministry of Culture study. Nearly every foreigner who vacations in Spain goes to a *corrida* at least once during his stay. An anti-bullfighting militant, Jorge Roos, says that at least 75 per cent of those who buy tickets nowdays are foreign tourists. Many of the new spectators are Japanese, who have "discovered" Spain in the last few years. "They have been led to believe that the bullfight is a part of Spanish art," Roos adds. Spaniards themselves preferred watching the World Cup on television to attending bullfights last summer. A newspaper photograph showed only a scattering of spectators in one *plaza de toros* during a bullfight that coincided with a match in Mexico involving the Spanish soccer team.

EDINBURGH *Wolfing It*

The enthusiasm for the restoration of fauna—putting wild beasts back where they once were—has its latest expression in a proposal to re-establish wolves on the island of Rum. Wolves died out in Scotland in 1740, and two centuries before that in England. Now Dr. Derek Yalden, a noted zoologist, has suggested to the Nature Conservancy Council that wolves be reintroduced to Rum, an island of the Inner Hebrides, 15 miles from the coast of the Scottish mainland and about thirty square miles in area. There is thought to be sufficient forest cover for them, and there is a herd of red deer for them to prey on. The herd has to be culled every year anyway. There is also, however, a human population on Rum numbering 31 persons (one-third of them children). They reacted to the proposal by being "startled," a local report said. Dr. Yalden commented: "Conservationists in Britain have been foremost among those pressing for action to conserve tigers in India, gorillas in Ruanda, and giant pandas in China. What have we done to conserve our own large-mammal fauna? Nothing. We haven't got a conservation policy, and it is high time we had."




Schwadron, *Punch* / Rothco

*"The really sad part is, ever since I was a kid, I've been allergic to carrots."*



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# THE SECRET OF SWITZERLAND

I LIKE TO THINK of Switzerland as Europe's Tibet—not just because of its mountains, but because it is in a true sense *terra incognita*. Everybody has been there, but nobody knows anything about it, except for the obvious superficialities—it is clean and well organized, has banks with well-guarded secrets, and makes superb chocolate and cheese. Even some of the things foreigners think they know are false (for example, the cuckoo clock was invented not in Switzerland but in the Black Forest of Germany).

Actually, Switzerland is a most unusual entity that merits extensive study. First, how has it survived, maintaining its neutrality for centuries, on our restless Continent? The answer is very simple: Switzerland is a military democracy. (Stalin called Switzerland "fascist," but whatever the Left calls fascist tends to have positive qualities.) Its military expenses at times amount to more than one-third of the federal budget (only Israel ranks higher in this respect). It is not the portrait of the president that adorns public offices, but a portrait of the commanding colonel or general. Swiss men have to serve in the army for two or three weeks every year until the age of fifty for regular soldiers, 55 for officers. The Swiss soldier returning from duty brings home his rifle, ammunition, and steel helmet, which are to be kept in his house, ready for use. He must also belong to a local rifle club and must practice regularly; his score is checked once a year. Indeed, the reason why female suffrage was so long in coming (it was instituted for federal elections in 1971; and in some local elections women still cannot vote) was that only persons bearing arms were considered to be full citizens.

The entire country—so tranquil to the outward view—is a fortress. An aggressor would have to pay a terrific price to take Switzerland. For the Swiss, the adage *Si vis pacem para bellum*—If you wish for peace, prepare for war—is as true today as it was in the time of William Tell.

But other nations have been and are strong militarily; what is characteristically—essentially, one might even say—Swiss is the other half of the phrase "military democracy." Switzerland is, in an important sense, not a single nation: It is a confederacy (the German word, *Eidgenossenschaft*, literally means an association based on oaths) of 23 cantons, representing four distinct ethnic groups and two major religions.

The cantons are like states of the Union, but, unlike the American states, they are all real fatherlands. The boundaries are denominational rather than linguistic (some cantons—the Valais, for example—are divided down the middle: French on one side, German on the other). The nation's four languages are strictly respected. While there are twice as many German-speaking Swiss as French-, Italian-, and Romansch-speaking combined, each of those other three languages is supreme in its own region, and all four are used on Switzerland's paper money. (On the coins, where there is less room to write, the Swiss found a way of remaining linguistically neutral: They use Latin.) Each canton has its established church, although there is close collaboration with the religious minorities. If you told a Swiss that democracy means total separation of church and state, he would be amused.

Catholics are now in a majority in Switzerland, but the spirit of the country is still Calvinistic—strict, severe, and utterly disciplined. Society here is more rigid than anywhere else in Europe; it is probably easier to scrape acquaintance with the British royal family than with one of the old patrician families in Switzerland. But do not think that Switzerland is humorless. The only surviving satirical periodical in the German language, *Nebelspalter*, is published not in Munich or in Vienna, but in Zurich.

Switzerland has always been an intellectual powerhouse of the first order, especially in the field of theology. In our century the Calvinists could boast of Cullmann, Brunner, and Karl Barth (whom Piux XII considered the greatest contemporary theologian), the Catholics of Otto Karrer, Hans Urs von Balthasar, and even the young Hans Küng. One must realize that Switzerland lies at the crossroads of all important European currents of thought.

Unlike the United States and Britain, Switzerland never sought to export its political system and ideas to other countries. The Swiss believe their country is unique, and in this they are absolutely right. The Swiss-born Rousseau was convinced that democracy is good for tiny units only, and none of the great Swiss political thinkers believed in democracy as a universal panacea.

STILL, THEY DID export ideas; and they also exported soldiers. By the time of the Thirty Years' War, Switzerland was hiring out soldiers to other countries as mercenaries. The term "mercenary" now has a derogatory connotation, but the Swiss mercenaries always proved absolutely trustworthy. They fought and died for Louis XVI against the bloodthirsty French revolutionaries. (The Lion Monument in Lucerne celebrates their bravery.) They are still serving the Pope in the Eternal City.

Even with the changes wrought by tourism in this century, the Swiss have remained a staunch and independent people. When their federal parliament called upon them to ratify Switzerland's membership in the UN in a plebiscite, they overwhelmingly voted no. Switzerland has done much to form and fashion world history, and she remains a fortress of Western civilization. □



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# PICKING FIGHTS BY PROXY

"LET'S YOU and him fight," says the troublemaker. Sometimes he does it just for the fun of making trouble; at other times, because he wants a proxy to advance his own interests. For two years, the *New York Times* has regularly been picking fights between John Cardinal O'Connor and Governor Mario Cuomo. The latest is over a guideline reminding pastors that they should avoid giving a platform at parish events to speakers who oppose Roman Catholic teaching.

Immediately the eager reporter is on the phone. To the archdiocese: Did the newsletter have Cuomo in mind? Answer: No. To Cuomo: Did he think he was being targeted? Answer: He doesn't know, but the guideline smacks of a denial of the right of lay Catholics to speak their mind.

That rates a big front-page story the next day. The *Times* is not satisfied, however. By its own account, the reporter repeatedly calls Cuomo and an official of the archdiocese, each time relating to the one the uncomplimentary things said about him by the other. At last the official is moved to allow that, yes, just maybe, the guideline could apply to Cuomo; and at last (it doesn't take very long) Cuomo is in high dudgeon against tyrannical prelates who would violate the freedom-loving spirit of Vatican II, or words to that effect. That rates a bigger front-page story, and the *Times* has the brouhaha it wanted—the next round in the O'Connor-Cuomo fight, of which the *New York Times* is promoter, announcer, referee, and judge.

The first round was promoted in 1984 when the *Times* set up an unusual interview with Cuomo at his home and invited him to hold forth on Catholic teaching and political ethics. The reporter zeroed in on his disagreement (and the disagreement of Geraldine Ferraro, a former Queens politician) with what the Church says should be done about abortion. Cuomo's answers were generously spread across the most influential front page in the Western world. That was promptly followed by a breathless report revealing that Cardinal O'Connor, in however low-keyed a manner, took a somewhat different view of Catholic teaching and political responsibility. The paper announced that the fight of the season was on, and it offered gleeful accounts of real or imagined blows exchanged. You knew a round was over when a magisterial editorial appeared declaring Cuomo the winner.

So much did he take to his assigned role that the Thomas More *manqué* of Albany (who seems undaunted by the fact that Thomas's quarrel was not with the pope but with the king) decided to throw some blows from that capital of popular Catholic intellectuality, Notre Dame. There Cuomo declaimed on the "seamless garment," an image that suggests that abortion is one issue among others, such as opposing handguns, capital punishment, drunken driving, and unkindness to whales. According to Cuomo, what makes the abortion issue different is that nothing should be done about it.

Cuomo's reasoning is something less than a seamless garment. He aggressively (and, I believe, rightly) tries to build a consensus against capital punishment and uses the power of his office to override the existing consensus in favor of it. At the same time, he proclaims his devotion to *Roe* v. *Wade* and defends his state's funding of abortions, all the while saying he wants a consensus against the position he promotes. "Please, someone stop me!" he seems to plead.

Yet the *Times* declares that the governor's moral, political, and theological logic is impeccable. Yes: theological; for that is the heart of the matter. The question is who defines Roman Catholic teaching on faith and morals. The editors seem deeply to resent the presumption of John Paul II, Joseph Ratzinger (head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith), and John O'Connor, who claim to speak with particular authority on the subject. It would not be seemly, however, for the *Times* to take a direct role in redefining Catholic teaching. Hence the need for proxies and "Let's you and him fight."

The current round over those guidelines about inviting speakers to parish events is, in the reporting of the *Times*, closely linked to other putative outrages by putatively reactionary Catholic leaders. Rome lifts its official approval from theologians who have long and publicly disapproved of Rome, the Pope curbs an archbishop who preaches that U.S. nuclear policy is the moral equivalent of Auschwitz; for the *Times* it is all of a piece with whether Gloria Steinem may be invited to address the next meeting of the Sacred Heart Society over at St. Jude's.

THE RUNNING "story line" in the *Times* and in the media that take their cue from the *Times* is simple: The battle is between Rome, on the one hand, and the Catholic people on the other. The *Times* conducts and trumpets polls showing that many Catholics disagree with Church leadership on various issues. There is perhaps nothing objectionable in doing that, even if it has been overdone. But the editors then invoke such evidence to suggest that "the people" (those who agree with the *Times*) are right and the leaders are wrong.

The Roman Catholic Church, like some others, continues to have its problems with the American democratic ethos, but it seems unlikely that it will accept the idea that questions of faith and morals are to be decided by opinion polls. Equally unattractive is the idea that the *Times* should, through its proxies, replace the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. □



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# BIG STORY, STUPID BOOK

## Jeffrey Hart

*The Rise of the Counter-Establishment: From Conservative Ideology to Political Power, by Sidney Blumenthal (Times Books, 369 pp., $19.95)*

SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL, of the *Washington Post*, has written a stupid book about a big story, and that's too bad. He wants to tell us about the rise of the conservatives to intellectual and political influence and perhaps dominance, but he is so appalled by the whole thing that he cannot pause to listen to what his subjects are actually saying. Unlike Conrad's Mr. Kurtz, he is unwilling to immerse himself in what he must consider the "destructive element" in order to understand it. Thus he comes out with a lot of fact and anecdote, some of it evidently apocryphal, but falls far short of any sort of synthesis.

Sidney Blumenthal is a *lumpen* Henry Adams, full of Adams's malice of the socially dispossessed, but utterly lacking his brains and prose style. He has a tremendous story to tell, but he hates the story too much to tell it properly.

The story, to put it one way, is about the decline of the liberal social and intellectual elite, with which Blumenthal somehow associates himself, and the concomitant rise of a conservative elite he cannot begin to understand. Blumenthal is a social-climber *manqué*. He would like to have dinner with Ken Galbraith and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., but he sees that they are evaporating. His confused emotions show up in his prose style, which in every sentence cries out that there is nowhere to go.

"The last thing liberals expected was the rise of the conservatives," Blumenthal accurately observes. The settled liberal establishmentarians were like the French generals in 1940, unable to believe that the tanks were speeding through the "impassable" Ardennes forest. All of a sudden there came into being a vast conservative infrastructure: think-tanks like Heritage and AEI, more foundations than you could shake a stick at, with Olin the largest, articulate publicists, a legion of columnists, a flood of successful periodicals, financial tycoons like William Simon and Joseph Coors, a horde of young public-policy types setting up shop in Washington. At lunch, the White House mess looks like a meeting of Young Americans for Freedom, former editors of the *Dartmouth Review*, former *NR* editorial assistants. Blumenthal cannot bear it:

> Virtually every major policy initiative proposed by President Reagan percolated to the White House by means of an ideological filtration system. The outstanding case, of course, is supply-side economics, which traveled from lunatic panacea to official catechism in a few short years. The idea made all the stops: the *Wall Street Journal* editorial pages; the neoconservative journal *The Public Interest*; the foundations; the think-tanks; Congress; a presidential campaign desperate for a new theme; and, finally, the federal offices of a newly empowered conservative New Class.

That is a typical example of Blumenthal prose. "Lunatic panacea." The denigrative use of "catechism," as if everyone understood that a "catechism" is something to be sneered at. And the intellectual failure to confront the case for "supply-side" economics in its various versions. Blumenthal is a liberal Colonel Blimp yelling, Egad! He seems to think of himself as belonging to some fictitious establishment club on some fictitious Pall Mall.

There are passages in which Blumenthal seems to think that the whole conservative outrage was invented by William F. Buckley Jr., who made "his startling entry onto the stage in 1951 when [he] published a precocious tract entitled *God and Man at Yale*." (N.B. the hallmark of the Blumenthal style: the denigrative use of the term "tract," though he probably never heard of Pusey and Newman.) When

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## RANDOM NOTES

☐ LEFT OVER FROM SEPTEMBER: In *Land of Opportunity* (Little, Brown, $17.95), Donald Lambro lauds the entrepreneurial energies of untrammeled capitalism.

☐ MORE OCTOBER TITLES: In *When the War Was Over: The Voices of Cambodia's Revolution and Its People* (Simon & Schuster, $19.95), Elizabeth Becker of the *Washington Post* gives a full account of the Khmer Rouge's attempt at revolutionizing Cambodia in accordance with a philosophy of racial superiority rivaling that of Hitler, so that, under Pol Pot's tyranny, "cruelty as embodied in the concept of purity—either as pure Communist, pure Cambodian, or pure loyalist—had replaced thinking." . . . *Letters from Prison: And Other Essays* (California, $25), by Adam Michnik, translated by Maya Latynski, with an introduction by Jonathan Schell (!), consists of the underground writings, accomplished over the past decade, by one of the founders of Poland's Solidarity movement, who berates with equal fervor the Soviet "conquistadors" and that old-fashioned left-winger Rosa Luxemburg, who saw in the Polish goal of independence an anachronism as outworn as herself.

*Orwell: The War Commentaries* (Pantheon, $17.95), edited and with an introduction by W. J. West, consists of 49 talks—all of them written by Orwell, some of them actually delivered by him—prepared between December 1941 and February 1943 as a means to counter the propaganda being broadcast by radio stations of the Axis countries.

*The Life of Langston Hughes: I, Too, Sing America* (Oxford, $22.95), by Arnold Rampersad, is the first volume (1902-1941) of what looks to be an interesting biography of the black American poet and playwright who died in 1967.

☐ COMING IN NOVEMBER: In *Rising from the Plains* (Farrar, $15.95), John McPhee continues the geological explorations earlier reported on in *Basin and Range*, investigating the cutbanks along Interstate 80 near Rawlins, Wyoming (where as much as half the earth's history lies exposed), as well as the glaciated upthrusts of the Wind River and Grand Teton ranges. —CW

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Ronald Reagan was added to Buckley, the mixture achieved critical mass:

> With the Goldwater campaign, Buckley's mayoralty race, and Reagan's 1966 gubernatorial campaign, an immense process of political education of both the public and the conservatives themselves was set in motion. Reagan was an important figure in that he could make the conservatives' abstractions vivid in ordinary minds; he could turn the ideology into the mythology.

On Reagan, Blumenthal argues that he is able to hold the various strands of conservatism together because of his power as a mythmaker, a true believer in Norman Rockwell's America, which Blumenthal obviously scorns. But two things have to be said here. One is that there are elements of truth in Norman Rockwell's America, and, second, that Reagan, a sophisticated man, appeals both to the elements of truth and to the elements of aspiration in the myth. Norman Rockwell's America, after all, is preferable to the South Bronx, and even to Harvard Square.

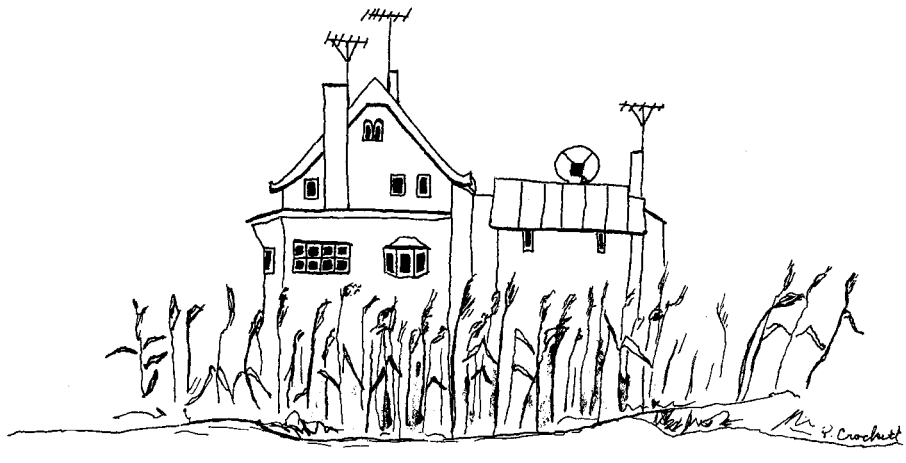
Blumenthal accurately identifies the main components of contemporary American conservatism: "Friedrich von Hayek, a free marketeer; Whittaker Chambers, an anti-Communist; and Russell Kirk, a cultural conservative. The fourth event was the emergence of William F. Buckley Jr., and he would provide an instrument to unite the disparate factions." Even so. But what Blumenthal lacks, sitting in the lounge of his imaginary Pall Mall club, is the intellectual energy to confront the substance of their thought. That is entirely characteristic of an elite that has forgotten its reason for existence and now merely relies on a routine sneer.

The conservative "counter-establishment" of his title has come into being because its central ideas possess merit and because the central ideas of liberalism have ossified. It cannot penetrate the brain of a liberal Colonel Blimp like Blumenthal that the Laffer Curve is self-evidently correct: Above a certain threshold level, lowering taxes *does* increase economic activity. (The liberal Blimps don't want to lower taxes because their premises are essentially socialist and statist.) Accordingly, Blumenthal derides such self-evident truths by labeling them "theology," a revealingly negative term in his lexicon.

The conservative "counter-establishment" is against reverse discrimination, in favor of individual self-restraint and the work ethic, believes with Charles Murray that welfare is socially debilitating, thinks with Jack Kemp that when you subsidize something you get more of it (like illegitimacy and cheese), and is in favor of shooting down incoming ICBMs over the North Pole. Those are real ideas, and the reason why the "counter-establishment" is prevailing. Blumenthal, avoiding substance, seems to think that Reagan is doing it all by magical powers, a sort of Wizard of Oz.

Blumenthal, of course, sneers at such neoconservatives as Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, Charles Murray, and William Bennett, largely ignoring the enormous contribution they have made to our political discourse and the persistent brilliance of *The Public Interest*, *Commentary*, and much of *The New Republic*. ("Neoconservative" is a term that ought to be retired; these writers are conservatives who used to be liberals.) Blumenthal's discussion of their work is so jejune as to suggest that he has a room-temperature IQ, but perhaps a fatuous complacency has stifled his faculties.

Tellingly, although the emotions that inform Blumenthal's sneers are leftist, there are no leftist *positions* presented here. Blumenthal does not say that anti-white racial quotas are fine. He





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does not say that the "theologian" Laffer was wrong about taxes. He does not come out for the feminist agenda. He does not debate Robert Jastrow about the feasibility of shooting down ICBMs. He does not defend the Sandinistas. His hero, startlingly enough, seems to be Senator Robert Dole, a *responsible* Republican.

So it has come to that, poor Dole. All that remains of Blumenthal's "liberalism" is a crudely expressed and fundamentally stupid social snobbery directed at the new and now powerful conservative establishment. About Sid Blumenthal, one can only repeat what Gertrude Stein said about Oakland, that there's no there there.

Who knows. Maybe the Democrats will nominate Bob Dole. □

## A MIXED BAG

### Forrest McDonald

*Truman, by Roy Jenkins (Harper & Row, 232 pp., $17.95)*

THERE IS A saying among American historians that the British historian's idea of scholarship is to read a dozen books and write a 13th. Roy Jenkins, erstwhile Labour MP and a founder of the Social Democratic Party, has lowered the average in this brief biography of Harry Truman: He has read ten books and written an 11th. Such works, by definition, offer no new information; they can be praised or blamed only to the extent to which they offer either a readable and reasonable synthesis or fresh interpretive insights.

By the first standard, the book is, well, pretty good. Let me put it this way. If an undergraduate student expressed an interest in learning something about Truman, and if Donald McCoy's excellent one-volume study in the American Presidency Series of the University of Kansas Press was checked out of the library, and if the student did not have time to read Robert Donovan's detailed two-volume work, then I could recommend Jenkins's book to him with some confidence that he would neither become grossly misinformed nor fall asleep. I should have to warn him, however, that he would be disconcerted on two counts. One is that the writing is peppered with irritating Britishisms that should have been purged from the American edition. (One finds it difficult to believe that Margaret Truman actually referred to the White House as "the great white gaol.") The other is that the author repeatedly lapses into casual, last-name-only references to key people who are otherwise unidentified. (If my hypothetical student knows who David Lilienthal was, for example, chances are he already knows more about the Truman years than he will learn from Jenkins's pages.)

As for interpretive insights, the phrase that springs instantly to the lips is "a mixed bag." Surprisingly, at least from the pen of a Brit of leftish persuasion, we find here a defense of Truman's decision to drop the A-bomb. The new President is depicted as then floundering for a year and more, until, in the winter of 1946-47, he rises to greatness as the architect of an international order in which, despite the devastation of World War II and the ever growing shadow of the Bomb, the world could achieve a measure of peace and plenty. Jenkins regards Truman as remarkably clear-sighted in formulating and implementing the


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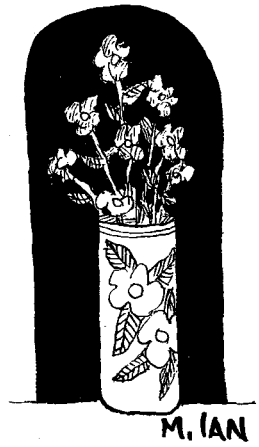
policy of containment, the Marshall Plan, the creation of NATO, the Berlin airlift, and the intervention in Korea.

That view squares with the best modern scholarship and explains why Truman has risen, in periodic polls of historians, from the ranks of "worst" Presidents to those of the "near great." I would demur in one particular. Jenkins dismisses as wildly irresponsible MacArthur's insistence that we should have either pulled out of Korea or done whatever was necessary to win the war, and he applauds as level-headed statesmanship Truman's decision to fight to a stalemate. What Jenkins regards as statesmanship I view as a failure of nerve: Truman was obsessively fearful of setting off World War III and believed for a time that he had done so. It is at least thinkable that the world might have been a better place if MacArthur's advice had been heeded.

As for domestic affairs during Truman's tenure, Jenkins shrugs them off as more or less a failure, since few of the mildly socialistic programs of the Fair Deal were enacted into law. In fact, however, the drift toward socialism was pronounced. "Creeping" socialism is what Republican critics had called it, but subsequent investigation by the Eisenhower Administration revealed that "galloping" would have been a more suitable adjective: The Federal Government was, when President Truman left office in 1953, running 26,000 business establishments in competition with its private citizens; it was the world's largest maker and purveyor of products ranging from fertilizer and rum to eyeglasses and ice cream.




This, Jenkins does not tell us. But he does depict a scene early in Truman's Presidency that vividly illustrates how things had changed. In November 1946, Truman had gone home to Missouri, as usual, to vote in the congressional elections. Two days later he caught a train, alone, and returned to Washington, where the only person waiting at the station to meet him was Dean Acheson. Having nothing else to do at that hour, Harry took Dean to an empty White House for a nightcap. The next day, President Truman assembled his entire staff of a dozen clerks and secretaries, and they all got back to work. □

# FOLLY INDESTRUCTIBLE

## Thomas P. McDonnell

*The Ayatollah in the Cathedral, by Moorhead Kennedy, with an afterword by Louisa Kennedy (Hill & Wang, 241 pp., $17.95)*

MOORHEAD KENNEDY'S reflections of an ex-hostage, *The Ayatollah in the Cathedral*, is not calculated to appeal to the leftist ideologues in our midst. But however little we had known about people like Kennedy before the 444 days of captivity in Teheran, the American capacity to pay homage where homage is due must now fully recognize the courage and integrity of the man who remains perhaps the best known of the embassy hostages. How vastly superior to the Administrations they serve are so many of those men and women who have taken up careers in the Foreign Service!

For, make no mistake about it, in Moorhead "Mike" Kennedy's *The Ayatollah in the Cathedral* we have a serious indictment of stateside duplicity at worst or rank ineptitude at best. One might go so far as to suggest that a course in captivity might have a salutary effect on employees of the State Department. "Captivity freed me of the necessity to think like a Foreign Service Officer," Kennedy says, which in turn allowed him to question rather than merely accept what he could not change. "Captivity," he adds, "offered me the opportunity to review my life as a student of the Middle East and as an American diplomat." There is no diplomatic ambiguity in his declaring that the Teheran takeover was the Pearl Harbor of the Foreign Service. And perhaps saddest of all is this conclusive observation: "After we were released, it became clear that the Department of State, in its effort to cover up the misjudgment that led to the takeover of the embassy, was determined not to draw the conclusions it should have from the Iranian experience."

In 1981, Moorhead Kennedy retired from the Foreign Service and subsequently put his renewed energies into the peace movement, especially as this involved the Christian churches. Indeed, he became director of the peace program at New York's Cathedral of St. John the Divine. In due time, however, Kennedy found that the image of "the Ayatollah"—that is to say, the absolutism of the self-righteous—was as clearly revealed in the nuclear-freeze movement as in the peculiar polarizations of the Iranian terrorists. Cast among peace activists of the ilk of, say, William Sloane Coffin, Kennedy suggests that one would have had a much easier time denying the Resurrection than daring to question the blessings of the now defunct nuclear-freeze project.

The image of the Ayatollah in the cathedral, as Kennedy himself suggests, may just as readily be located among those who do not want to hear anything unfavorable about the Sandinista regime. "To Episcopalians," he writes, "the Third World is populated exclusively by men such as Bishop Tutu, who respond nobly to oppression by those of European descent." The whole message of *The Ayatollah in the Cathedral* is directed toward those who always plunge forward with good intentions, but who give no thought at all to the possibility of untoward consequences. Kennedy argues for the discomforting wisdom that we must continually come to terms with the moral complexities of "an unjust, cruel, and often dangerous world." The world, this book says, is made all the more dangerous by those who believe in its perfectibility.

Moorhead Kennedy's wife, Louisa, author of a brief but cogent afterword, proves herself a loving and formidable woman. While her husband was still in captivity, she had the good sense to hesitate several weeks before accepting an invitation from Barbara Walters to be interviewed on ABC News, but then gave in anyway. On that occasion, Miss Walters asked her: "How would you feel if your husband does not come home?"—a question so appallingly dumb and ill mannered that the audience could only have been slightly bemused by it. It must have been at that point that Louisa Ken-



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nedy realized there would always be a good old U. S. of A., as indestructible, in the end, as its follies are permanent. □

# DOOMED TO BE GAY?

## Joseph Sobran

*Homosexuality and Hope, by Gerard van den Aardweg (Servant, 134 pp., $2.50)*

HAVING BEEN TAKEN to task in these pages recently by a pseudonymous defender of gay rights, I feel impelled to deny the charge that I am "obsessed" with homosexuality, if only because of a congenital flightiness that disables me from concentrated attention on any subject. My mental powers are insufficiently developed for me even to aspire to a genuine obsession. But if I ever achieve one, I hope it's not that one.

Still, the charge is interesting. If I'd been writing about homosexuality with undue frequency before it was a political cause, before "gay rights" and AIDS were subjects of cover stories in magazines in general, the accusation might have some plausibility. As it happens, I undertook the assignment with reluctance. Please, please believe me!

The gay-rights movement interests me as one of many attempts by various groups to secure "accredited victim status" through politics. Typically, they charge that they are the targets of special hostility (without acknowledging, of course, that they have any irritating traits of their own). And those who take the time to criticize their complaints, demands, indictments, and demeanor are always guilty of "obsession"—the very hostility that allegedly warrants the accredited victim status. You prove them right in the mere act of disagreeing with them.

This is in the nature of ideology, an abstract and error-proof construction of reality that isn't peculiar to homosexual-rights activists. Nevertheless, it has a special affinity to homosexuality as a disorder, if the analysis of Gerard van den Aardweg is anywhere near the mark.

In *Homosexuality and Hope* Dr. van den Aardweg insists, along more or less Freudian lines, that homosexuality is a disorder, and a curable one at that. Taking a leaf from Alfred Adler, he theorizes, on the basis of his own practice as a psychotherapist, that homosexuality is rooted in feelings of inferiority. To the classic pattern of the weak or absent father and the domineering mother, he adds the influence of the bullying sibling, who by constant aggression and teasing may inflict deep wounds.

These may result in homosexuality if the psychically assaulted boy takes refuge in self-pity, feeling that the whole world is against him. This habit of mind may disable him from the kind of outgoing love that a normal erotic life requires. Van den Aardweg writes:

> The craving for a person of the same sex is passive, a quest for *being* cherished. It is not a happy and joyful experience like normal falling in love; the underlying feeling is of hopelessness, a kind of pain. This asking for love is of course entirely ego-directed. Homoerotic love is self-centered, "narcissistic."

Homosexuals' erotic drives

consume much of their thinking, more so than in heterosexuals. Homosexual im-


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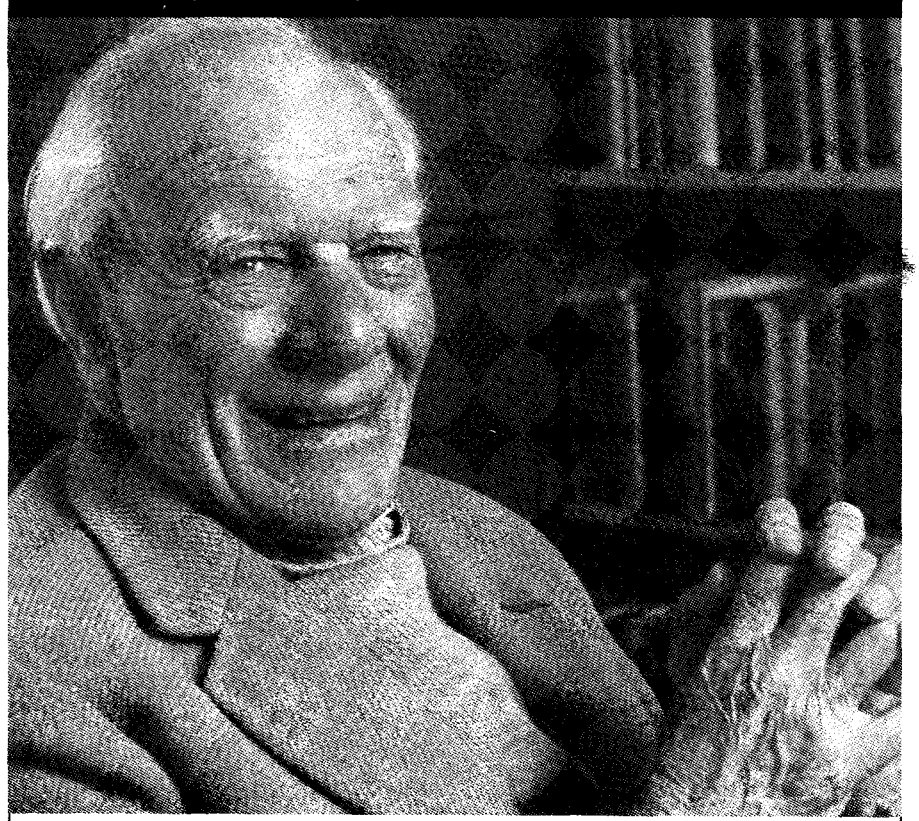

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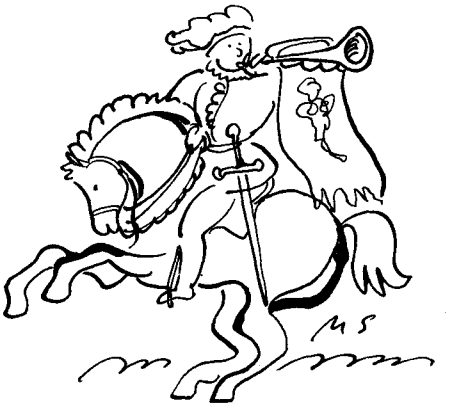
pulses really have something compulsive about them, in that they resemble other neurotic disturbances such as phobias, obsessional worries, and obsessive-compulsive neuroses. They make the sufferer restless. The driving force of this compulsiveness is the dissatisfaction inherent in the inferiority complaint. This makes the longing insatiable, because the same complaint will always recur.

On this view, homosexuality itself is not the root neurosis, but only the expression of it. And homosexual behavior is typified not just by its orientation to men but by its frenzied promiscuity. Van den Aardweg cites a German sociologist, a professed homosexual, who angered the homosexual movement by bluntly declaring the "faithful homosexual friendship" a myth.

Van den Aardweg claims considerable success in curing homosexuals. Surprisingly, one of his favored techniques is what he calls "self-humor." He teaches his subjects to mock their own self-pity and to break out of their self-absorption. And though it isn't easy, it can be done, because most homosexuals have plenty of psychic resources to draw on, once they rid themselves of the destructive idea that they are doomed to be gay.

My critic raised the question of how the graphic personal ads in the homosexual papers differ from the equally sick ads in the "straight" porn press. The answer is that they don't. If van den Aardweg is right—and his theories ring true to me—then we should see the kinship between various forms of arrested male erotic development. (Lesbianism is another matter: Lesbians form faithful long-term attachments, for one thing.) The point is not to stigmatize homosexuality, but to recognize norms of sexual conduct and sexual health. If it encourages homosexuals to see that their problem is not so remote from disorders that pass for normal and even virile, that is all to the good. After all, lots of "normal" men have difficulty loving a woman unselfishly and for her own sake. Homosexuals shouldn't be made to feel that everyone else is a smashing success at what they themselves fail at.

But of course this is altogether distinct from conceding the claims of the gay-rights movement, whose infantile self-pity and ceaseless accusations against the society at large seem at once neurotic and yet all too typical



of special-interest politics. Maybe the lesson is that in contemporary politics, it helps to be sick. □

# INTUITING REALITY

## Paul Gottfried

*Will, Imagination, and Reason, by Claes G. Ryn (Regnery, 222 pp., $7.95)*

THIS BOOK by Claes G. Ryn, the Swedish-American political thinker, manages to be many things at the same time. It deals, most plainly, with Irving Babbitt (1865-1933), the Harvard professor of comparative literature who became an eloquent critic of American culture. Ryn seeks to vindicate Babbitt's moral humanism against both intolerant religionists and crusading naturalists. The religionists whom Babbitt frowned on rejected philosophic thinking for an exclusively revealed truth, while the naturalists identified human nature with man's biochemical makeup—or, even more ominously, with some form of environmentalism. Babbitt responded to both sides as an educated modernist. Unlike his Calvinist ancestors, he could not accept Biblical revelation as an unfailing source of truth; and yet, the naturalist and sentimental views of human nature that had supplanted Protestant Christianity seemed to him dangerously simplistic. They ignored the need for an ethic of self-restraint to maintain a civilized society.

J. David Hoeveler, George Panichas, Russell Kirk, and other sympathetic commentators have observed that Babbitt's moral theory, which stressed the inner check produced by the higher will, grew out of his cultural concerns. Babbitt's attacks on Rousseau and romanticism, his translation of and commentary on the ancient Sanskrit *Dhammapada*, and his focusing on the shared ethical component of higher religions were related to a single lifelong mission. This was to oppose the moral breakdown that had accompanied the weakening of religious faith in the West. Rousseau became a synecdoche for all that Babbitt feared and despised most: the substitution of humanitarian pity for fixed ethical standards and a hankering for the primitive.

Babbitt gave the impression of being an angry, sometimes testy, moralist; and this was the image transmitted by his detractors. Among these were not only the socialists, such as Edmund Wilson and John Dewey, but indisputable conservatives, including Allen Tate, Eliseo Vivas, and, in his less charitable moments, Babbitt's own student T. S. Eliot. All of them, albeit from different standpoints, maintained that his ethics were an unconvincing attempt to find a substitute for traditional religious belief. It was said that Babbitt appealed rhetorically, without making the case systematically, for an ethic of the higher will. Moreover, he dressed up this appeal by quoting selectively from the Bible, the Vedanta, Plato, and Buddha.

A revision of this critical interpretation was already under way before the appearance of Ryn's book. Kirk and Panichas have long argued that Babbitt was profoundly affected by Christian thought. His concerns and his censures came out of a Classical and Judaeo-Christian outlook, which yielded his yardstick of judgment even for non-Western religions. Babbitt praised Oriental thinkers mostly for what they had in common with Plato, Aristotle, Jesus, and Augustine. Like Kirk and Panichas, Hoeveler has stressed the contributions Babbitt made as a cultural traditionalist and as a critic. Hoeveler also draws a connection between Babbitt's humanism and certain neoconservative themes. Despite Babbitt's stated revulsion for the incipient welfare state, Hoeveler sees foreshadowed in his call for educated leadership suitable for a modern democracy the "Tory democratic" thinking of Irving Kristol and George Will.

Ryn carries the revisionist view of Babbitt even further: by taking him seriously as a philosopher; and by placing his ethics in the context of his age. His dense analytic prose should not mislead anyone about his willing-



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ness to break new ground. By linking Babbitt to Croce and the neo-Hegelians, Ryn moves dramatically away from other interpreters of his subject. He makes it clear that Babbitt was constructing a theory of knowledge and values, not simply taking a critical stance.

Despite Babbitt's disparagement of the Hegelian worship of history and the Hegelian tendency toward moral relativity, Ryn locates ideas in his work that closely resemble those of Hegel and, even more importantly, of Babbitt's neo-Hegelian contemporary, Benedetto Croce. Like Hegel and Croce, Babbitt thought dialectically, through dichotomies that it was the task of philosophic reason to place into an overarching world view. The relationships of the higher and lower wills, of the One and the Many, and of moral and utilitarian concepts of the Good were not only symbols of Man's spiritual ascent. Ryn treats them as illustrations of the "dialectical logic" through which Babbitt conceived of reality. Babbitt made a critical distinction between pragmatic understanding and a faculty of mind that he thought revealed the totality of things. Ryn relates this Babbittian distinction to an older, similar one in Hegel and, finally, to Croce's view of the artistic imagination.

For Babbitt and for Croce, the imagination was a creative power that intuited reality and that, in union with the will, brought forth moral acts and artistic achievement. Indeed art and ethics stood at the crossroads of will and imagination, as the products of willed intuition. These products contained both universal and historically determined aspects that came together in artistic and religious genius. Although Babbitt had no well-developed concept of Reason to go along with his intuitionism, Ryn uses Croce in order to "supplement" Babbitt. The speculative reason that Hegel and Croce invoked to understand dialectical relationships also explained how the creative imagination, driven by will, synthesized the universal and the particular.

One may wonder what this has to do with Babbitt's moral preachments or with his tirades against sentimental and naturalist art. Babbitt denounced Croce as an amoral aesthetician, and he left no doubt about his own revulsion for German philosophers, particularly Kant and Hegel. Ryn notes, in responding to this objection, that Babbitt criticized only Croce's theoretical position as found in his *Aesthetic* of 1902, and that Croce praised Babbitt as a literary critic and, in his essays from 1917 on, repeatedly insisted on the "totality of great art." His mature observation that the more something is art, "the more it shows the morality inherent in the nature of things" may well have come from Babbitt.

Still, Ryn's practice of supplementing Babbitt with doses of Croce may seem unsettling, until one realizes that he is writing more than intellectual biography. It would not be unfair to say that Ryn has a hidden agenda. He is presenting his own version of historical conservatism, which combines an intuitionist ethic with dialectical thinking. Ryn tips his hand while claiming to represent Babbitt. His sixth chapter, on historical knowledge, speaks as Babbitt would never have done about history as "self-knowledge," as a "discovery of one's own self running parallel with the discovery of epochs in history." Even more revealingly, Ryn exalts Hegel as a creator of modern historicism in whose work history and philosophy were joined.

Although Ryn in the same chapter also recommends Babbitt's work "as a twentieth-century phenomenology of the spirit, offering self-knowledge, philoso-


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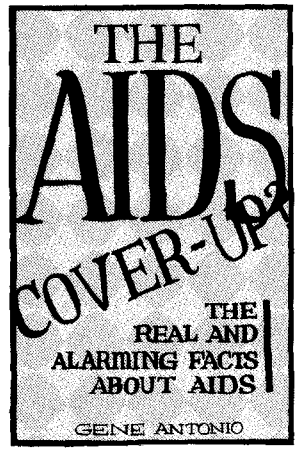


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phy, and history in one," he finds no higher compliment for Babbitt's writing than to compare it to Hegel's magnum opus. Ryn has a charming tendency to chide his subject for not thinking through philosophical questions. Perhaps faithful to his own insight, he may be looking for self-knowledge while expounding Babbitt. In any case, he reveals a lively speculative mind committed to a set of clearly stated propositions.

Ryn is clearly concerned, as a professor at Catholic University and as a writer on political philosophy, with influencing conservative intellectuals. Those who seek to renew the past, he believes, should sympathize with his alternative to an abstract, formulaic understanding of social virtue. Unfortunately, his work has come along at a time when conservatives may no longer desire to engage in discussion about principles and beliefs. At an earlier, more vital point in the postwar conservative movement, Ryn's work would have excited enthusiasm and anger. Today, it is likely to be ignored (though I hope not) precisely by those who should find it most relevant. Ryn and his ambitious book, *Will, Imagination, and Reason*, deserve better. □

# WAUVIAN CONVICTIONS

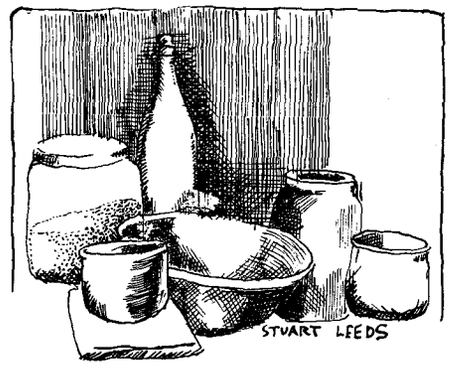
## H. W. Crocker III

*Brideshead Benighted, by Auberon Waugh (Little, Brown, 221 pp., $16.95)*

PAUL JOHNSON opens his *History of the English People* with a quote from Milton that seems more applicable to the United States than to England.

> Lords and Commons of England—consider what nation it is whereof you are and of which you are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point that human capacity can soar to.

It certainly bears no resemblance at all to the England of Auberon Waugh, where "rubbish lies uncollected in the street, old-age pensioners are mercilessly raped whenever they venture out after dark, dying like flies in any case




and their corpses left unburied, everybody in work is on strike and the rest are unemployed."

Waugh's *Brideshead Benighted* is an aptly titled collection of his "Another Voice" columns from *The Spectator*, where he resides as the world's greatest pundit in the world's best-written magazine. Unfortunately, neither he nor the magazine is terribly well known in this country. A little background, therefore, may be in order, at least about him (he provides a pocket history of *The Spectator* in his introduction).

Auberon Waugh is the eldest son of the novelist Evelyn Waugh and used to be a novelist himself until he gave it up as not worth the time and effort. He is also a smoker, an oenologist, and a tormentor of "our four-wheeled friends," despite having lost a lung, a kidney, and several fingers when he unintentionally shot himself with a machine gun while serving in the British army in Cyprus.

In person, he is polite and cordial, with a mellifluous, well-educated voice that makes the conscienceless vigor of his opinions all the more arresting (especially when he tackles such subjects as rape and murder without any of the usual diffidence and sanctimony).

His political philosophy tends toward the libertarian and is grounded in a profound distrust of politicians and the masses. It can be summed up by his admonition against capital punishment: "The working classes may enjoy hanging each other because it is the sort of thing they understand, but we should really not encourage them in case they hang one of us by mistake."

He exhibits all the finest aspects of the English gentleman. He is tolerant and is willing to stomach trade unions because they are "a great bulwark against the enrichment of the proletariat, which efficient capitalism might threaten—bringing with it the unspeakable horrors of a society dominated by proletarian tastes and appetites." And he believes in fair play and racial equality: "On balance, I feel that the wisest course for government is to treat West Indians as being the same as everyone else, and, if they misbehave, hit them on their heads—just like everyone else, and certainly not a fraction harder."

But for all his fair-mindedness and evenhandedness, he is not "wet." Indeed, he is of the opinion that it is the wetness of the middle classes that is most to blame for Britain's inglorious decline. When matters of high principle arise, such as the ordination of women, his doubts take a hard line.

> Can we be sure, for instance, that menstrual strain might not produce intemperate sermons? That the heavy sedation which so many women require permanently nowadays might not interfere with their sacred duties, if only the prescribed fasting? Many who still believe in the supernatural, quasi-magical properties of the sacraments have grave reason to doubt whether women would be efficacious here. Their doubts derive from Scripture and from the earliest Christian traditions, but even agnostics who have watched women perform at Wimbledon need not feel there is anything irrational in doubting whether women have that extra zing or whatever is required to turn bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.

In a more innocent age we would expect a man of the intellectual stature and greatness of Auberon Waugh to be able to walk on water, but, given our historical progress, we must be content with his journalism, to which *Brideshead Benighted* is a useful introduction. Its contents—while focused on the reasons for and manifestations of Britain's decline—are diverse, and it is admirably brief, has an attractive cover, and has been shoddily proofread—just like a British newspaper.

Moreover, beyond its wicked prose and freely littered wisdom, the book teaches two important, supra-political lessons—that the human condition is one of ubiquitous absurdity and that "there are countless horrible things happening all over the country, and horrible people prospering, but we must never allow them to disturb our equanimity or deflect us from our sacred duty to sabotage and annoy them whenever possible." Amen, Mr. Waugh, amen. □



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# FICTION

## SUFFERING AND SQUALOR

### Jeffrey Meyers

*Children of Light, by Robert Stone (Knopf, 258 pp., $17.95)*

ROBERT STONE is the master of desperate situations. His previous novels dealt with alcoholism in New Orleans, Vietnamese drugs in California, and revolution in Central America. All his books end in an apocalyptic bloodbath. "I want to deal with extremes of brutality," Stone said in an interview, "[to show] that the innocent suffer at the hands of people or forces driven by ignorance and greed."

*Children of Light* (the ironic title comes from Luke 16:8) concerns Gordon Walker—actor and screenwriter, alcohol and cocaine addict, predator and survivor. He has just been successfully acting King Lear, but sees "his life as trash—a soiled article, past repair." In an attempt to recapture past happiness and satisfy a "mythic longing," he decides to seek his old love, Lee Verger. He is attracted by "her closely reasoned madness, her nightmare undersea beauty and deluded eyes." She is starring in a film, made on the coast of Mexico, that is based on Gordon's ten-year-old script of Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* (1899).

Both Gordon and Lee are crazy and live in a fearful world, threatened by real dangers as well as by hallucinations. They have driven away their spouses and children, are besieged by darkness, and take their identities from their theatrical roles. At the end of Stone's novel, during a thunderstorm on top of a Mexican mountain, Gordon is mad Lear on the heath ("I fear I am not in my perfect mind").

And there are many parallels with *The Awakening*, a morbid novel of mixed marriage and adultery in Louisiana. Miss Chopin's book also concerns a quest for freedom compromised by the inevitability of death; a trapped and desperate woman, briefly awakened and then driven to her doom. Edna Pontellier's lover flees to Mexico—where the film is now being made. The filmmakers see Lee as Mr. Pontellier sees Edna: as "a valuable piece of property which has suffered some damage." Miss Chopin's ominous portent of a silent woman dressed in black is transformed into the demonic Long Friends of the schizophrenic Lee Verger. The Long Friends gather in the darkness and vanish into the shadows. Then, increasingly unafraid, they cluster about, trying to grasp her "with their long, delicately clawed fingers, affecting to enfold [her] in the fine tracery of their dark wings."

*Children of Light* combines the satire in the Hollywood novels of Fitzgerald and West with the savagery in the Mexican fiction of Lawrence and Lowry. Gordon and Lee meet halfway through the novel, when he drives down to Bahía Honda. He wants to destroy the last part of his life that is still uncontaminated—the precious memory of his lost love—and to achieve the ultimate degradation. He knows that there is no clear conscience in this film crowd, that he is not among friends, and that there will be trouble. He has, in fact, come to die.

"I've been high on you for five hundred miles," Gordon tells Lee, "and when I get here you're playing footsie with that big swamp rat." This is Dongan Lowndes, a once-serious novelist with a flayed face, poxy sores, and fecal eyes. He is writing an article about the film for an intellectual magazine and is lusting after Lee. When Gordon beds the feline actress, "It was as though she drew in all softness, took up her own slack, and curled the flesh around her long bones." But the publicity man on the set photographs them naked and sniffing cocaine, and attempts to blackmail the film company by giving the picture to Lowndes.

Certified and certifiable, Lee, like Gordon, has "never found anything beyond despair except more despair." She has given up the medicine that controls her hallucinations, is trembling on the edge of a breakdown, and is haunted by terrifying visions: "When she looked up at the crucifix [in church] she saw that the hanged Christ nailed to the beams had become a cat. It was burned as black as the figure had been, its fur turned to ash, its face burned away to show the grinning fanged teeth." But she is acting brilliantly in an important film. A crucial question in the novel is why Gordon gives Lee cocaine. His motives seem purely destructive, and Stone suggests there is no salvation in love. ⟶


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# THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

"DEMOLISHES bowdlerized history . . . A view of our noble ancestors bottom up, so to speak, which is a view no civilized people ought to neglect" (from a review of George MacDonald Fraser's *Flashman*, from *The Washington Post Book World*); "He pulls the rug out from all those tough, fearless English adventurers from Bulldog Drummond to James Bond" (from a review of *Royal Flash*, in the *New York Times*); ". . . We can learn more about why the English behave like the English, and what things were really like in the glorious days before the unions were powerful and the market was common" (Stefan Kanfer, *The New Republic*). The point is that the Left adores Sir Harry Paget Flashman, brigadier general, VC, KCB, KCIE, etc. (known first to literature as the beastly bully and drunk of *Tom Brown's School Days*) and has delightedly followed the publication of the Flashman papers, now in their eighth volume of publication, as edited by George MacDonald Fraser, a professional author resident on the Isle of Man.

Flashman's accounts of his adventures throughout Queen Victoria's Empire (and elsewhere) corroborate entirely—so left-wing admirers believe—the revisionist history of recent times, according to which the nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed the exploitation (in some instances, quite literally, the rape) of Third World peoples and individuals by Europeans who were, despite the hero-worshipping descriptions of them to be found in the Bad Old History Books, greedy, cheating, lecherous, and cowardly despoilers; who, with all their fine "breeding," were cads merely—not even "gentlemen"! A Marxist of my acquaintance, for example, lasciviously devours each new Flashman title, his passions titillated but his heart gladdened to learn that, indeed—as Lenin always told us—THIS IS HOW IT REALLY WAS! Well, perhaps Flashman *is* how it was—the further question being: How bad really was it?

*Flashman and the Dragon* (Knopf, $16.95) is Sir Harry's account of his (involuntary) involvement in the Taiping Rebellion of 1860, in which the Taipings tried and failed, in the worst civil war in history and the second bloodiest war of any description, to overthrow the arrogant, corrupt, and isolationist dynasty of the Manchus. As readers of previous Flashman volumes will have expected, Sir Harry is drawn into the current unpleasantness by a woman and survives it largely owing to his appointment as male concubine to the Imperial Concubine (who was known in later life as the Empress Tzu-hsi) to the Son of Heaven, as well as to a few prudent surrenders and fits of kowtowing in moments of extreme crisis. Since what happens in between involves the stuff of which true suspense stories are made, all of it written in a muscular, narrative literary prose that is—or should be—the envy of most contemporary novelists, I will leave off summarizing at this point, with merely a word to the effect that *Flashman and the Dragon* is perhaps the best Flashman installment to date, beating *The Cider-House Rules* by a hundred miles.

To my mind, the most interesting aspect (for the purpose of this review anyway) of *Flashman and the Dragon* is that it more clearly manifests Sir Harry's theory of imperialism than does any of the previously published works, revealing it to be more akin to Lewis Feuer's than to Lenin's. The reason for this greater explicitness is the obnoxious nature of the Manchu culture, which was narrow, ignorant, arrogant, chauvinistic, racist, and cruel in ways far outstripping those qualities inherent in the England of Queen Victoria, and recognized as such by Sir Harry. So unstinting, in fact, is his treatment of the Imperial Chinese that one finds oneself reflecting upon the author's treatment of native cultures described in the earlier works—the Afghans of the 1840s, the Dahomey Negroes of the same decade, the Apaches ditto, the Sioux of the 1860s, and so forth. Whereupon one realizes that Sir Harry Flashman's brutalized savages have always been of the ignoble, rather than noble, variety: prepared, long before they met the white man, to give much worse than they got, and upon the slightest provocation—or no provocation—at all.

Once the neophyte revisionist has reached this painful conclusion, his progress is likely to be rapid. It is true that Sir Harry makes many cutting asides on the subject of Victorian "morals" and "hypocrisies," but a closer reading reveals his attitude to be similar to that of Evelyn Waugh who, when asked how he could reconcile his often atrocious behavior with his professed Catholicism, replied: "Imagine what I should be if I were *not* a Catholic!" In the present instance, one strongly suspects that Sir Harry's Englishman, deprived of his Rugby and Church of England breeding, would be . . . an Afghan bandit, a sadistic Apache, a Heathen Chinee. And, in fact, come to notice it, Sir Harry is usually on his worst behavior when in exile overseas, as if he had taken it there to exercise among comparative or absolute savages, who might be presumed to look upon it with greater indulgence.

AT THAT, Sir Harry's behavior is, in many respects, worthy of the honors his civilization accorded him: befitting the stereotype he is considered to represent. Though more often inspired by terror than by bravery, he remains cool under fire, resourceful, imaginative, loyal in a pinch (if always to himself). As the student of Flashman pursues his subject to greater length moreover (I have now read five volumes myself), he comes to appreciate that the thing that prevents Sir Harry actually from *being* brave is that he has, ultimately, no loyalty to, or belief in, any higher value than the self: that, in other words, he was an early victim of that strain of modern thinking that has produced regular reviewers for *The Washington Book World* and *The New Republic*. Perhaps that is the reason why, all praise to the contrary, the Flashman papers are so redolently nostalgic—so imbued with the idea that, when all is said and done, the British Empire ran the world the way it deserves to be run, with the Anglo-Saxon sitting topside and having his boots blacked by _____s and _____s.

In fact, the Flashman volumes are a novelist's invention—purely and utterly fiction. But then, so are the works of V. N. Lenin. □



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The apocalyptic climax comes when they flee the set, fly over the mountains ("We're going to where it's morning." "Will there be something to drink?"), and drive up the hilltop to a holy place, sacred to Lee, that is actually a pig farm. In a pseudo-religious quest, she crawls over the jagged stones, bloodies her clothes, strips them off, and sits "naked in a mix of mud and droppings, swarming with tiny pale creatures that fled the light." This is the end of her rainbow. Rescued by the tourist police, they find their way back to Bahía Honda, where Lee resumes her role and fulfills the destiny of Ophelia, Edna Pontellier, and Virginia Woolf.

This vivid, sharp, and repulsive novel is extremely readable and especially interesting on the boredom and corruption of filmmaking (the director and his father may be based on Walter and John Huston). But this nihilistic book lacks the depth and power of *Dog Soldiers* and *A Flag for Sunrise*. As they are crawling up the hill Lee exclaims: "I know it must all mean something, Gordon, because it hurts so much." Stone strives for but fails to achieve a transcendent significance in suffering and squalor. □

lying in some far-off woods. They decide on an expedition to discover the body. All of them are types. Gordie, the sensitive hero, is deeply depressed by the death of his fine, star-athlete elder brother; his parents, Gordie believes, would much rather have had him die in that accident. Chris is a good, bright, strong, honest boy, but, because he comes from the wrong side of the tracks, is thought by all to be wicked. Vern is fat, craven, silly, and risible. Teddy is neurotic and reckless; his unloving, now insane and sequestered, father once mutilated the boy's ear by holding it to a hotplate. They lie to their parents about their journey of a couple of days and head out for the great adventure.

A typical piece of nonsense has them walking on a narrow railway bridge high over a body of water when a steam engine shows up behind them and Gordie risks his life to save Vern, though the engineer, who must have seen them minutes earlier from his slowly chugging vehicle, could easily have stopped it. But Gordie, who is the portrait of the author as a youngster, must rise from mere sensitivity to heroic status. Round the campfire in the woods, Gordie (by way of rising further) tells the gang one of his stories, for which he is famous among them. It concerns an enormously fat, unpopular boy, Lardass, the butt of his fellow townsmen's jokes. His revenge is to tank up on castor oil just before competing in the annual blueberry-pie-devouring contest, where one is not allowed to use one's hands, so that the eating sequence is swinish enough in itself. Presently Lardass, a gross-looking creature at best, starts vomiting all over his fellow contestants, unprepossessing creatures even


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# FILM

## THE NET GROSS

### John Simon

WE ARE PRIVILEGED to live in the era of a new cinematic genre: the gross-out movie, whose aim is to tickle jaded or vestigial sensibilities by turning the stomach. Of the two movies I shall consider, the first is only a partial gross-out, but its would-be genteel parts—and very genteel they would be—are pretty nauseating, too. It is, by the way, the top current moneymaker.

*Stand by Me*, Rob Reiner's movie based on Stephen King's novella *The Body*, is, according to David Denby in *New York* magazine, "from first shot to last, the work of a film artist." Four 12- or 13-year-old boys in a tiny Maine town (the movie changes this to Oregon), pals who gather in a treehouse to smoke and play cards, learn of a dead boy, killed by a train, who's


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in their pristine state. As Pauline Kael pointed out, castor oil is a cathartic, not an emetic; but it seems to me that what it can't do, Stephen King's writing can.

Before you know it, Lardass's achievement—and he can equal in purple puke what any baroque fountain does with mere water—wins over the townsfolk, who express their admiration (without even the assistance of castor oil) by spouting over one another like the combined fountains of Rome, and the hilarity on screen as well as in the theater audience reaches truly gargantuan dimensions. The scene seems to go on forever and gives a wholly new meaning to the phrase "purple passage." Gordie's story is a big success, except that Vern, nerd that he is, wants to know what happened to Lardass afterward, thus displaying his ignorance of the ways of art.

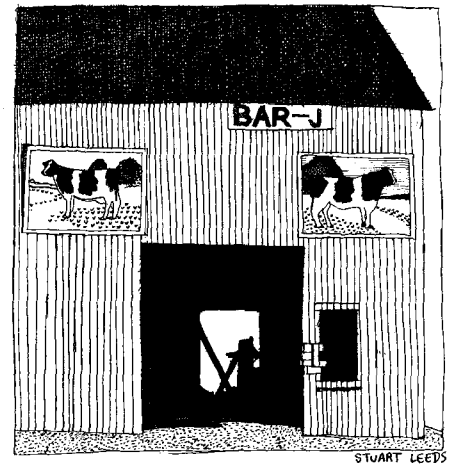
There is no such ignorance among our critics, however. Even Miss Kael, who decries *Stand by Me*, wonders "how moviemakers who had the *spirit* to stage this *stupendous gross-out* could have made such a vain, effete, self-coddling movie." (Italics mine.) David Edelstein of *The Village Voice*, who is of divided opinion about the film, nevertheless describes this episode as "storytelling as the ultimate weapon against an uncomprehending world, and better than that, it's rude. Gentlemen: more barforamas!" And don't mistake Edelstein's jauntiness for irony: Barforamas are what he and his fellows want.

How does this preposterous movie go on? Seeing that corpse apparently liberates Gordie from the trauma of his brother's death, although just how and why it does so is beyond the ability of the screenwriters, Raynold Gideon and Bruce A. Evans—as well as, presumably, Stephen King—to demonstrate. Moreover, the bunch of young punks who regularly brutalize our four friends show up to snatch the corpse from them (why all this platonic necrophilia?), but Gordie, who has appropriated a gun for the excursion, uses it to put his evil elders to flight. At the risk of emulating Vern, one wonders what will happen the next time they meet, when Gordie is unarmed.

The movie's greatest moment, however, occurs after the storytelling episode, when the boys take turns at guard duty in the forest night. Chris, whose turn it is, notices Gordie starting up from a nightmare about his parents' wishing him dead, and consoles his friend with sage advice about self-reliance and the fact that by becoming a great writer, and putting this all down on paper, he will have the supreme power, the best revenge. Unfortunately, one is led to believe that instead of growing up a great writer, Gordie will become Stephen King and write, among other best-sellers, the novel *It*, whose two-letter title is followed by 1,138 pages of equally inspired text, in which some of the motifs of *The Body* (and *Stand by Me*) resurface. In the framing sequences of the film, a grown-up Gordie, now a successful writer, muses about the heroic death of a lawyer friend while trying to prevent a street crime. That lawyer—who, but for Gordie's encouragement many years ago, might never have gone to college but stagnated like Vern and Teddy—was none other than Chris. Without Gordie's help, he would have been stagnant but alive.

Lest you feel let down by this ending, however, the last shot shows the grown Gordie (Richard Dreyfuss, no less), himself a happy and loving father, typing out on his word processor this message to the world: "I never had any friends later on like the ones I had when I was 12. Jesus, does anyone?" With those three powerful last words, infantilism, which is the subtext of so much American cinema and culture, comes gloriously into focus.

DAVID CRONENBERG'S *The Fly* is loosely based on a mild and inept 1958 horror film of the same name. Written by Charles E. Pogue and heavily revised by the director, this now is the story of an unworldly young scientist, Seth Brundle, with whom a sexy journalist, Veronica Quaife, gets involved so as to gain exclusive coverage of an invention that will change the world: teleportation. Something placed into a phone-booth-like telepod is disintegrated, only to be recreated in a flash a few feet away, in another telepod. The affair turns into genuine love (or so we are *told*, it being beyond such movies to *convey*, except from one telepod to another), and Veronica breaks off even her professional relations with Stathis Borans, her editor and former lover, a crude and unscrupulous fellow.




Teleportation is still stumped by mammalian flesh: a baboon emerges as a twitching piece of bloody meat, and a sirloin steak as inedible. But computers learn from their masters, Seth explains, and when Veronica teaches him the joys of sensuality, he passes them on to the computer, so the next baboon makes it. Drunk and groundlessly jealous of Stathis, Seth teleports himself, but overlooks the presence of a fly. He emerges genetically fused with it, which takes him an unscientific length of time to grasp. Slowly, he mutates into a fly, the change marked by ghastly stages of uglification. He now climbs walls and ceilings, and his sexuality becomes ravenous. In a barroom Indian-wrestling bout, he shatters his opponent's arm. A hideous slime oozes out of various parts of him (when it doesn't pour out of his mouth); gradually, he loses (on camera, of course) his nails, teeth, ears.

Hideous as he now is, Veronica remains true, but he chases her away. Pregnant by him, she has a graphic nightmare in which she gives birth to a huge, bloody, throbbing larva. About to have an abortion, she is surprised by Seth, who now has superhuman strength. Stathis, with a shotgun, follows them into the laboratory to rescue Veronica from being genetically spliced with Brundlefly, as Seth dubbed himself. I shan't itemize the stomach-churning horrors (ten on the Richter scale) that ensue from what was, after all, only a fly-by-night affair.

"A complete triumph . . . spiritual transactions . . . unusual restraint . . . a great romantic film . . . *The Fly* goes right to the center of our lives." Thus Denby in *New York*. In the *Voice*, Andrew Sarris writes of "sublimity . . . the most profoundly passionate *Liebestod*" in a film that "isn't Sophocles or Shakespeare, but . . .



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close enough to Kafka and Nabokov." In an interview with David Edelstein, who calls this a "masterpiece that will turn you inside out with pity and terror [a synecdoche?]," Cronenberg declares: "I'd love to have the project of redesigning the human body. It would please me to [*sic*, significantly] no end." To simplify his task, the human brain and sensibility, as the reviews attest, have already been redesigned. □

# BOOKS IN BRIEF

*Joe DiMaggio: A Bio-Bibliography, by Jack B. Moore (Greenwood, 252 pp., $35)*

WITH THE exception of Babe Ruth (whom he was hailed as being the second coming of), Joe DiMaggio has probably been the most celebrated player in baseball history. Like Ruth, DiMaggio was more than a great player; he was, and is, a symbolic American hero. Professor Moore's "bio-bibliography," another clear manifestation (replete with footnotes) of professional scholars' growing interest in baseball, attempts to present an accurate account of DiMaggio's life and career in correction of the many inaccuracies that have plagued previous works, such as the myth (repeated by DiMaggio himself in his autobiography, *Lucky to Be a Yankee*) that DiMaggio's brother Dom nearly ended the famous 56-game hitting streak at 44 with a great catch of a line drive hit by Joe. (Moore says that Joe never hit such a ball and Dom never caught it.) Moore also examines in great detail (sixty pages) the literature devoted to DiMaggio to demonstrate the way writers have shaped his life so that he might become "an embodiment of the Great American Success Story." In the beginning what DiMaggio was taken to symbolize was immigrant success, acceptance, and integration into the American mainstream. Over the years, as his fame and stature grew, writers found more and more elements of his heroism to focus on and to incorporate into his myth: his team spirit and his role as the key player who enabled his team to win; his triumphant comebacks from painful injuries (because of injuries, DiMaggio was seldom able to play on Opening Day); the poignant failure of his marriage to Marilyn Monroe, his grief at her death, and his strength and nobility in seeing that her funeral was conducted in a dignified manner. From Gene Schoor's "enthusiastic hagiography" in *The Thrilling Story of Joe DiMaggio* to Hemingway's symbolic use of DiMaggio's name and image in *The Old Man and the Sea*, Moore has tracked down a number of fascinating literary references. Moore concludes that in the end, despite all the public attention he received (and hated) over the years, DiMaggio continues to be somewhat of a mystery to us. Either that, or we don't want to admit that "he has remained his own real, bounded, essentially good but unglorious person." MIKE SHANNON

## GALLAGHER

(Continued from page 42)

Milligan. Under Reagan, the Juvenile Justice Department prefers to look the other way. As long as the law remains on the books in its present form, however, any attempt to aggressively persuade runaways to keep off the streets puts a state's funding at risk. The extreme form of deinstitutionalization is not dead: In 1984 an unsuccessful attempt was made to take away the modest authority granted to judges in the 1980 Valid Court Order amendment.

*Sally is in her early teens. She ran away to New York to get away from her abusive stepfather back home in Tennessee. The runaway unit picked her up and placed her in a shelter. She disappeared. Some time later, Sally was picked up again and brought to a different shelter. This shelter, like the previous one, had no legal authority to detain her. But when Sally tried to walk out the door, the staff intervened. "We're sorry," they told her, "but you are only a little girl and this is a very dangerous city, and you are not going anywhere."*

*Sally stayed.*

Sally was lucky. She had landed in a facility where the staff cared more about helping kids than obeying the law. Others believe that telling a child "no" is not only illegal, but immoral. Because of their laws and their morality, more children will lose their futures in the gutters of America's great cities. □


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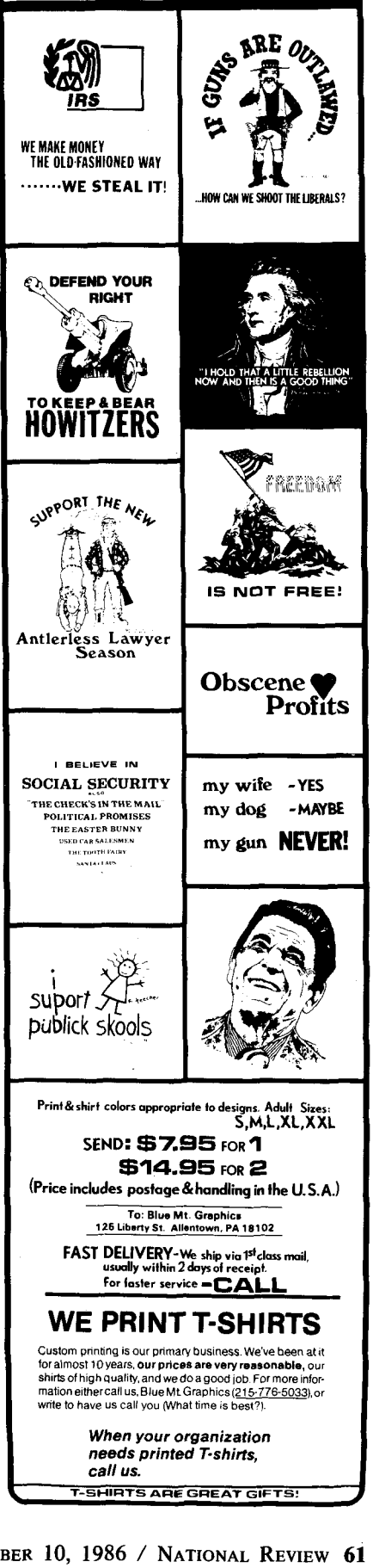


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## CHRIST-HUNTING

*NEW YORK, SEPT. 5*

THE EMERGENCE of Pat Robertson as a presidential candidate (more accurately, as a presidential hopeful—he hasn't a prayer, to use that word recklessly, of winning) has given many commentators the opportunity to take lascivious notice of data normally ignored. Such things as, well, God: about Whom we are supposed to hear only outside the earshot of Norman Lear. (For Mr. Lear, God is the entirely appropriate superstition for such as Archie Bunker.) There is, to begin with, attention given by the critical press to the kind of thing associated with the American political circus. Here the commentators have a natural advantage. It is at the very least anomalous to see and hear a man of God working the hustings and passing the plate in order to produce and distribute television commercials. Add to this the implied message of such as Pat Robertson, who calls himself a prophet: namely, that he may well incarnate the powers of a miracle-maker: close his eyes, look heavenward, extend his hands, and lo! the national debt disappears. A man of the cloth who sets out to become President a) shouldn't, b) won't, c) should expect the rough-housing to which the Reverend Pat Robertson has already been subjected.

But other questions arise. And they have to do not with whether a man of the cloth ought to become involved in politics, but whether his doing so contaminates his calling. Or, more accurately, whether through the excesses of a self-declared spokesman of God, the case against God—more specifically, in the case of Pat Robertson, the case against Christianity—is enhanced.

Consider now this sentence from the lead article in *New York* magazine, a feature on Pat Robertson by political editor Michael Kramer. It is titled "Are You Running with Me, Jesus?" The title is enough to inform the reader that Michael Kramer knows, even if he can't actually prove that God told him so, that God is not in fact running with Pat Robertson.

But the provocative high point of the article is this sentence: "What will haunt Robertson most, however, is his belief that America is, and should be, a Christian nation. 'How nice it would be,' Robertson has said, 'if all the presidents of the three major networks . . . [and the] editors of major newspapers [and] superintendents [of the] major school districts [all had] degrees from CBN University.'" (CBN: Christian Broadcasting Network, Robertson's base.)

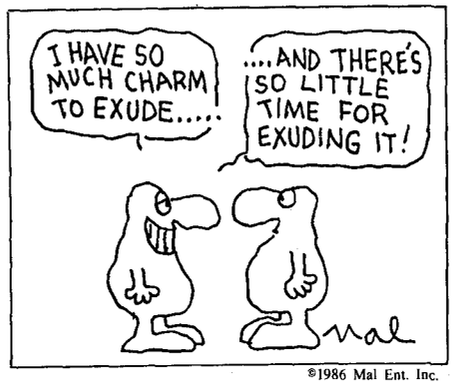
To challenge such a statement as was evidently made by Pat Robertson, in this way, is really to challenge the seriousness of the religious enterprise. To many critics who reside in mountaintop aeries and view the vulgar gropings of humankind from their exalted altitudes, religious denominationalism either a) is a quarrel about nothing; or else b) is a sign of monstrous arrogance, the co-optation by a mere human being of a truth, never mind that truths probably do not even exist.

That is certainly an aggressive attitude toward the Christian religion, and, in fact, toward all religions. We come quickly to the whole question of evangelism. Nobody seems to have much trouble with secular evangelism, indeed it is a noble tradition. They call it advocacy, and it is American enough even for the American Way. Norman Lear will not start a committee to warn against judges who believe fervently in the lessons of the *Federalist Papers*.

But advocacy of another order is something quite else again. We are permitted to say that all the world should be fed (behind such a proposition you can get rock groups to sing in London and in Philadelphia), but if your message is that man does not live by bread alone, one draws down the curtains, closes all the doors, and tiptoes out of the room, muttering that that kind of thing belongs maybe in the home, but not in the school, let alone in a legislative assembly, let alone in the Supreme Court.

Oh, they go through the motions of reminding us that the Constitution guarantees freedom of religion. But freedom of religion, we need to remind ourselves, incorporates the freedom of religious advocacy. A purpose of those who believe is to persuade others to believe. And Christianity is not comprehensible save by taking seriously the injunction that it is a Christian's duty to go forward and preach the Gospel of Christ.

To what end? Well, Pat Robertson put it in words that *New York* magazine pronounces "haunting." That it would be, to use the genteel language of Pat Robertson, "nice" if everyone were a Christian. In orthodox logic this can only mean the desire to share with others that which one believes one has by grace got hold of. One cannot be coherent as a Christian, save by seeking to share that which a Christian holds most covetously: the Truth. □



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## THE STRANGE TURN OF WARREN RUDMAN

*NEW YORK, SEPT. 12*

WHAT HAS GOT INTO the (usually) good Senator Warren Rudman? In the event you hadn't noticed, he has craftily attached a rider to an appropriations bill the effect of which would be to return to the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) the right to continue its attempt to change the American way of life, a not exaggerated way to put it if you study the activities of the Legal Services Corporation in its evolution since its founding in 1974. Senator Rudman is head of the Commerce-Justice-State division of the Appropriations Committee, and his rider would undo the careful work done by the Administration to attempt to stop funding the revolutionary activities of ideologized young lawyers who don't like the way the Founding Fathers set up this Republic.

It is an interesting example of how an agency established to transact one kind of thing ends by associating itself most prominently with a quite different sort of thing. It all began in the 1960s when Lyndon Johnson was looking about for any conceivable undone business that could be called "social justice" and decided that just as the affluent in America have education, housing, medical care, and legal services,



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so the poor should have all of these. The idea was for the Federal Government to finance the petition by a poor person to rectify an injustice, and to make available to him the service of lawyers. The kind of thing Congress was thinking about was how to fetch up the Social Security check that hadn't been issued, or get the divorce, or get child assistance from the delinquent father—that sort of thing.

There was much enthusiasm for the program, except that what then happened is that it was taken over by the ideologues. Governor Ronald Reagan of California fought bitterly against the aggressions of the LSC in his own state, and at one point declared that he would not accept the federal money in California. When he became President, an effort was made to simply eliminate the LSC. This was blocked by the lawyers' lobby, which is as powerful as any this side of Israel's, the farmers', and the teachers'. What the President had to settle for was an internal reorganization the purpose of which would be to restore the LSC to its original function, of sending money to poor people with which to hire lawyers to get their work done. This is different from sending money to lawyers to celebrate Bolshevism.

Ah, you say, there he goes again, exaggerating the activity of the LSC. Here is what Senator Orrin Hatch said, after investigating the methods and goals of the LSC study centers; "Their method was clandestine; their objective was secret; and their actions were repugnant. And yet they fully expected the Federal Government to finance their cabal." Here is what Senator Jeremiah Denton wrote: ". . . the LSC was to become the taxpayer-funded fulcrum for the Left to leverage a national political agenda in the Reagan era."

The Washington Legal Foundation has brought together scholars and journalists to study the activities of the LSC. Rael Jean Isaac, co-author of *The Coercive Utopians*, collected a few examples of the animating bias of the legal folk being funded by Congress to the tune of about $300 million per year. In Boston, Gary Bellow of the Legal Services Institute said in 1982, "Most of us agree that . . . America maintains a deeply stratified class system; changing this system, and its most recent manifestation in Reagan conservatism, is a primary concern of us who do legal-services work."

Another LSC lawyer spoke of the second model for the LSC, the first being the direct aid for legal services. In this second model, "service to individual clients is provided only as a means for winning the confidence of the poor community and for learning about the problems faced by poor persons." The true "objective of . . . poverty law must be to organize poor people, rather than to solve their legal problems. The proper job for a poor people's lawyer is helping poor people to change this."

So has it gone: The LSC has become a lobby of left-minded lawyers to influence legislatures, Congress, and the general public to rally around the socialist flag. The question is why Senator Rudman should give his name to a rider that would undermine any effort to restore Legal Services to its original role.

The full Appropriations Committee has yet to act on that rider, and of course there is the vote in the Senate, and in the House. And the veto. □

# HARVEST OF DESPAIR

*NEW YORK, SEPT. 10*

TWENTY QUESTIONS time . . .

—It happened in 1932-1933, and there were approximately ten million victims.

—Russia. Well, sort of: the Ukraine.

—Of starvation.

—No, not drought: cultivated starvation. You know, where there is actually food, but the people one intends to starve aren't permitted to move to where the food is, and the food is not permitted to be moved to where the people who are supposed to starve are . . .

Well, the implied questions and the explicit answers give it away, but giving it away is precisely the problem. Not many people know that in 1932, Josef Stalin decided to crush the people of the Ukraine. The neatest way to effect this was to starve them to death. This was done by going in and removing the wheat—not an easy project. It's something like going into Iowa and removing all the wheat. And then moving in a division or two whose responsibility was to keep the borders of the Ukraine (which, by the way, is the largest nation in Europe apart from Russia itself, and was incorporated by force into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) locked tight in order to prevent people from moving out or food from getting in.

A good year for old Joe. He managed in that one episode to kill more people than Hitler killed in his slaughterhouses. In fact, he killed more people than were killed on all the battlefronts of World War I, up until then the heaviest hitter of any war in history.

Comes now the story of a small Canadian film company that resolved to commemorate this spectacular act of genocide on its fiftieth anniversary. That was 1983, when *Harvest of Despair* was produced. Initiatives were instantly taken to sell the one-hour documentary to the networks, but neither CBS nor NBC nor ABC was interested, notwithstanding that the documentary was winning prizes abroad. And here we pause in our narrative, having just seen the documentary: It is not pleasant viewing. A camera can show the emaciated corpses of children for only so long before causing the viewer to feel a certain itch, not entirely unlike the kind of itch one feels inspecting, oh, the torture room at the Chateau of Chinon, or the collection in Leningrad, at the Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism—a collection of torture instruments used during the Inquisition, and serving, one supposes, as prototypes for those used in the Lubyanka and throughout Gulag.

But one views such things—for instance, long accounts of life in Hitler's elimination centers—not for pleasure but for instruction. And it was the naïve assumption of the producers of *Harvest of Despair* that there would be a lively interest in the West in seeing the evidence of one of the most spectacular acts of human cruelty in history. Moreover, something not entirely irrelevant to a continuing understanding of the Soviet Union and its policies. Why is that? Because official Soviet history simply denies that the famine ever took place. Denies it quite categorically. When Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada made a reference to the Ukrainian famine on its fiftieth anniversary he received a tongue lashing from the Soviet ambassador, an official protest, as though the reference was on the order of a reference to the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion—a forgery.

Mikhail Gorbachev, profiled a season ago by *Time* magazine, was thus referred to: "Gorbachev looks well tanned, just a bit ruddy in the cheek. . . . He laughs easily. . . . [His eyes] are an intense dark brown. . . . The voice is extraordinary, deep but also quite soft . . . low and melodious." He voiced his concern to *Time* over the "hundreds of millions of people going hungry. . . . We, all of us, just have no right to ignore the situation."

WELL, planned starvation isn't only a historical memory. It has been going on in Ethiopia on a pretty grand scale, and Ethiopia is to all intents and purposes a satellite state of the Soviet Union. Mr. Gorbachev can't begin to fight hunger by encouraging starvation. And if he is against ignoring hunger, then he should be against ignoring the hunger and starvation effected by the principal figure in the development of the Soviet state, Papa Stalin. A continuing failure by the Soviet state to acknowledge the atrocity of 1932-1933 is, in effect, a continuing ratification of that atrocity.

The documentary will be shown on network by PBS on September 24, and there is no way to avoid mentioning that it will be shown as part of a two-hour *Firing Line* program, of which I act as the host. I can't really recommend that you watch it, for the reasons listed above. But it is very important that you not forget that harvest of despair, that it live in the memory—like the Nazi Holocaust—as evidence of man's long bestial reach in our time. □

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